





A. M. Guild

SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY :

WITH

AN APPENDIX, LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, &c.

THE OBJECT OF THIS SOCIETY,

IS TO PROMOTE THE UNIVERSAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE ;
TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES ;
AND TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF OUR FELLOW SUBJECTS, THE NATIVES OF
BRITISH INDIA.

GLASGOW :

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AND SOLD BY GEORGE GALLIE, BUCHANAN STREET ;
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J. M'LEOD, ARGYLL STREET ; D. ROBERTSON, TRONGATE ;
AND WILLIAM SMEAL, GALLOWGATE.

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ANNUAL MEETING.

GLASGOW, 7th August, 1840.

AGREEABLY to Advertisement, the Sixth Annual Meeting of the above Society was held in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, West George Street.

On the motion of the Rev. James M'Tear, the Rev. Dr. HEUGH was called to the Chair.

The Chairman having opened the business, then called on Mr Murray, one of the Secretaries, to read the Annual Report. Mr Beith, the Treasurer, also read an Abstract of the Accounts. It was then—

I. Moved by the *Rev. Dr. Wardlaw*, and seconded by *Robert Kettle, Esq.* :—

“ That the Report now read, be re-committed for revision by the Committee; and that it be printed, and circulated, under their direction.”

II. Moved by *William Dawes, Esq.*, seconded by the *Rev. John Keep*, (both from the Oberlin Institute, Ohio,) and supported by *Charles L. Remond*, and *William Adam, Esqs.*, also from the United States :—

“ That the improved condition and character of the Emancipated population in the British Colonies, most satisfactorily illustrate and confirm the soundness of the views entertained by the Friends of Immediate Abolition, and call for renewed expressions of thankfulness and congratulation: that the experience of the past, and the present state of the Anti-Slavery cause, furnish motives of the most affecting and at the same time sustaining nature, to prosecute, with undiminished ardour and hopefulness, the great work of **UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION**, till the fetter of

every Slave be broken—the Continent of Africa delivered from the horrors of the Slave Trade, and *the unnatural and wicked prejudice against colour* entirely eradicated."

III. *George Thompson, Esq.*, submitted to the Meeting a proposition for Adjournment until Monday Evening next, owing to the lateness of the hour, and the important nature of the business yet to be gone through, which was unanimously carried.

IV. Moved by *Mr William Smeal*, and carried by acclamation :—

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Trustees for the use of the Chapel ; and to Dr. HEUGH, and Mr BEITH, who succeeded him, for their conduct in the Chair.

HUGH HEUGH, *Chairman.*

JAMES BEITH, *Chairman.*

ADJOURNED MEETING,

HELD MONDAY EVENING, 10th AUGUST, 1840.

MR JAMES BEITH AGAIN PRESIDED.

THE Minutes of the previous Meeting having been read :
It was—

I. Moved by the *Rev. Alexander Harvey*, and seconded by *James Mott, Esq.*, of Philadelphia :—

"Whereas Slavery, under every modification, is a daring insult to God, who made man in his own image,—a glaring outrage on all the rights of humanity,—and expressly condemned by the precepts and spirit of Christianity, this Meeting regard not only those who hold Slaves as deeply

guilty, but likewise all who neglect to use the influence which they possess to discourage or suppress it, as partakers in the sin."

Wherefore Resolved,

"I. That we now pledge ourselves to use all our influence, in every relation in life, to put an end to Slavery; and earnestly to remonstrate with those (be they Britons or Americans), who either retain their Fellow Men in Bondage, or make gain by the infamous system of Slavery."

"II. That this Meeting earnestly and affectionately entreat the Christian Churches in Great Britain and Ireland, of all denominations, through their Ministers and Members, to remonstrate, as opportunity presents, through their Church Courts, or other Religious Organizations, according to their own forms, with the American Churches and Brethren, on the Guilt they incur—the Injury they inflict on Religion—and the dishonour they do to God, by retaining Slave-Holders in their Communion, and to urge them, by all the motives presented by their Common Faith, to give no countenance to this monstrous evil, but to put away from their Religious Fellowship every man who holds his Fellow Man in Bondage, as they value the Divine Favour, the Interests of Religion, and the Rights of Humanity."

On the preamble and Resolutions being put to the Meeting, the following clauses were proposed on behalf of a large body of Chartist present, as additions, and were pronounced by the Chair to be carried by a majority of the Meeting. *Mr George Thompson* protested against said clauses being considered as adopted by the Members of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. The first clause was proposed by *Mr Lloyd Jones*, the Socialist Missionary, viz. :—

"And that the owners of our large manufacturing establishments be particularly requested to immediately render their assistance in making such alterations in the institutions of this country, as that infant slavery may be at once abolished."

The second clause was proposed by *Mr Jack*, viz. :—

"That while we take every opportunity of hastening the Emancipation of the Slaves of America, and all other parts of the world, we direct the Committee to take every opportunity of urging the Government of Britain to take immediate steps for advancing the condition of the people of this Country, morally, physically, and politically, by passing a law, granting the right of the Suffrage to every man of sane mind, unconvicted of crime, who has attained the years of his majority."

An adjournment was then proposed, and, notwithstanding-

ing the strenuous opposition of the Chartist, it was carried by a majority.

A vote of thanks was given to Mr BEITH, for his conduct in the Chair.

JAMES BEITH, *Chairman.*

AT an Adjourned Meeting, held in Dr. Heugh's Chapel, to conclude the business of the Sixth Anniversary of the above Society, 14th September, 1840 :

Mr JOHN MURRAY being called to the Chair, and having opened the proceedings : It was then—

I. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, seconded by *Charles L. Remond, Esq.*, from America ; supported by the *Rev. John Keep*, from Oberlin Institute, Ohio ; and carried unanimously :—

“ That it is the solemn duty of the people and Government of Great Britain, to consider the condition and claims of our fellow-subjects—the **NATIVES OF BRITISH INDIA**, and to devise and carry forward such measures as are calculated to better their circumstances, and to elevate their character :—That this duty gathers additional weight and importance from the fact, that the existing systems of Slavery and the Slave Trade are mainly dependent for their support upon a demand for certain articles of tropical growth, now obtained by the compulsory labour of persons held in bondage in the United States, Brazil, and elsewhere—articles which the soil of India is fully adequate to produce, by the unconstrained labour of the natives, under a wise and equitable administration of British rule, assisted by the philanthropic exertions of the people of this country.”

II. Moved by *Mr William Smeal*, and seconded by the *Rev. James M'Tear* :—

“ That the name of William P. Paton, Esq., be added to the list of the Vice-Presidents of this Society ; that the *Rev. John Graham* be added to the Committee, in room of the *Rev. James Paterson*, resigned ; that the

names of William Brodie, Thomas Watson, William Gunn, Jun., Robert Mathie, and John A. Fullarton, Esqrs., be also added to the number; and that the other Office-Bearers be requested to continue their services for the year ensuing."

III. Moved by *Bailie M^cLeod*, and carried by acclamation:—

"That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to the Managers, for the use of the Chapel; and to Mr MURRAY, for his conduct in the chair."

JOHN MURRAY, *Chairman.*

OFFICE-BEARERS.

President.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of WHITEHILL.

Vice-Presidents.

REV. DR. WARDLAW, REV. DR. HEUGH, REV. DR. KIDSTON,
Wm. P. PATON, Esq., ANTHONY WIGHAM, Esq., Aberdeen.

Treasurer.

JAMES BEITH, Esq.

Secretaries.

MESSRS. JOHN MURRAY AND WILLIAM SMEAL.

Committee.

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|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Rev. William Anderson. | Messrs. John A. Fullarton. |
| William Auld. | George Gallie. |
| William Brash. | Thomas Grahame. |
| John Duncan. | William Gunn, Jun. |
| John Eadie. | Robert Kettle. |
| John Edwards. | Henry Langlands. |
| Greville Ewing. | Matthew Lethem. |
| John Graham. | Donald Macintyre. |
| Alexander Harvey. | John Maxwell, M.D. |
| John Johnstone. | Colin M'Dongal. |
| David King. | Ninian M'Gill. |
| William Lindsay. | Anthony M'Keand. |
| J. M. M'Kenzie. | David M'Laren. |
| James M'Tear. | John M'Leod. |
| Thomas Pullar. | Robert Mathie. |
| Dr. Willis. | John Reid. |
| Messrs. David Anderson. | Robert Sanderson. |
| J. S. Blyth. | James Stewart. |
| William Brodie. | George Thorburn. |
| Hugh Brown. | Archibald Watson. |
| William Brown. | George Watson. |
| Walter Buchanan. | James Watson. |
| Robert Connel. | Thomas Watson. |
| G. C. Dick. | William White. |
| William Ferguson. | Andrew Young. |
| John Fleming. | |

Honoratory and Corresponding Members.

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|---|
| GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. |
| RIGHT HON. LORD BROUGHAM. |
| JOHN DENNISTOUN, Esq., M.P. |
| JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., Birmingham. |
| DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M.P. |
| REV. THOMAS ROBERTS, Bristol. |
| REV. PATRICK BREWSTER, Paisley. |
| WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., Boston, New England. |
| ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq., New York. |
| JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq., do. |
| JAMES JOHNSTON, Esq., Auburn, do. |
| JAMES McCUNE SMITH, M.D., do. |
| M. GEORGE WASHINGTON LAFAYETTE, ¹ Paris. |
| M. VICTOR DE TRACEY, |

RE P O R T.

AT the conclusion of last year's Report, your Committee reminded the Society of the variety and extent of the labours it had undertaken—that from being in 1833 “The Glasgow Emancipation Society,” for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World, “It now stands pledged, in conjunction with the Aborigines’ Society, to *Protect the Rights of the Aboriginal Inhabitants in our Colonies*; and, with the British India Society, to aid in *Bettering the Condition of our Fellow-Subjects, the Natives of British India.*”

In presenting to their constituents, their Sixth Annual Report, your Committee feel desirous, in the outset, to congratulate them and the Public on the very satisfactory Results of Emancipation in the British Colonies, especially as regards the conduct of the Enfranchised population. Wherever they have been subjected to injuries and oppression—of which there is still, to the disgrace of their white Tyrants, many instances, they have exhibited, in an eminent degree, an exemplary and praiseworthy forbearance; are harmless, quiet, sober, and orderly in their conduct; and, notwithstanding what their enemies and calumniators may say to the contrary, are of a diligent and industrious disposition—of which more by and bye—and evince a desire to improve themselves and their children by education.

Soon after our last Annual Meeting—on the 15th October—a Public Meeting of the Society and its friends was held, for the purpose of hearing an Address from Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart., on the objects and progress of the Aborigines’ Protection Society, and also for the purpose of having the Public assent to a Memorial to Government, relative to the Negroes captured in the *Ayristad*, praying that

Government might interpose its power and influence, by every legitimate means, with the American or Spanish Governments, to have these Africans set at liberty if possible in America: or, if too late to secure that, that they be liberated at Cuba, by the Mixed Commission Court there, and handed over to a British Ship of War, to be carried back to the port in Africa from whence they came, and escorted to their homes"—and suggesting, that Ruiz and Montes, who were illegally transporting them, should be proceeded against. A Memorial, praying that the Independence of Texas should not be recognized, "unless the Texians consent to Emancipate all the Slaves at present there, and so to alter their Constitution as to prohibit for ever the holding of Slaves in the Territory of Texas"—was likewise agreed to by the meeting.*

To the former of these Memorials, the following answer was received :—

" SLAVE TRADE.

" FOREIGN OFFICE, 23d Dec., 1839.

" WILLIAM P. PATON, Esq., &c., &c., GLASGOW.

" SIR,—With reference to the Memorial of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, dated the 15th of October last, on behalf of the Negroes who took possession of the *Amistad*, and were subsequently carried to New London, in the United States of America, I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to state to you, for the information of the above mentioned Society, that his Lordship has directed Her Majesty's Minister at Washington to interpose his good offices in their behalf, in order that they may be set at liberty: and, his Lordship has further instructed Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires at Madrid to call upon the Spanish Government to issue immediately strict orders to the Authorities of Cuba, that, if the request of the British Minister at Washington is complied with, the Negroes in question may be put in possession of their liberty.

" Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires at Madrid has likewise been instructed to urge the Spanish Government to cause the laws against the Slave Trade to be enforced against Messrs. Ruiz and Montes, and against all other Spanish subjects concerned in the transaction in question.

" I am, SIR, your most obedient humble Servant,

" W. FOX STRANGWAYS."

In December last, your Secretaries made a liberal distribution of Pamphlets and Reports, and a Circular, to the Members and friends of the Society in Town and Country, to arouse their zeal in the cause—which seems to have, in many instances, settled down into a too self-satisfied state; as if,

* See these Memorials in full, in the Appendix of last year's Report.

now that Slavery is entirely abolished in our West India Colonies, our work were finished. Your Secretaries, also, desired a supply of the sinews of war—pecuniary help—especially from Ministers and Congregations in the Country; appealing, at the same time, in behalf of our fellow-subjects the Natives of British India, and also on behalf of prostrate Africa, robbed daily of a thousand of her children.

On January 9th and 10th, two Public Meetings of your Society were held—the former to receive from Mr John Scoble, of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London, an account of the actual Results of Emancipation in the West Indies, as collected from his own observation—the latter to receive further information from Mr George Thompson on British India, also to appoint Delegates to the Great Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and to nominate a Committee of Correspondence with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or others, on the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

In February, your Secretaries took the opportunity of Mr Scoble going to Paris, on a Mission from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to the French Abolitionists, to renew their correspondence with the “French Society for the Abolition of Slavery;” and, on the 26th of the same month, they were favoured with an interesting reply* from the Honoured President and Secretary of that Society, Messrs Odillon Barrot, and Isambert.

In March, a Card was again addressed by your Secretaries to Lord Palmerston, reminding him of the Case of the *Amistad* Negroes, to which they had the honour of receiving the following reply:—

“ FOREIGN OFFICE, 26th March, 1840.

“ MESSRS. J. MURRAY AND W. SMEAL, SECRETARIES TO THE
GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

“ GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by Lord Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you addressed to his Lordship on the 4th inst.; and I am to acquaint you in reply, that Her Majesty’s Envoy to the United States has been instructed to use his good offices with the United States’ Government, in behalf of the Negroes taken on board the *Amistad*, so as to secure to them eventually their liberty: and that Her Majesty’s Chargé d’ Affaires at Madrid has been instructed to request the Spanish Government, to issue strict orders to the Authorities of Cuba, to put the Negroes referred to in possession of their liberty, in the event of

* See Appendix, No. I.

their being given up to Spanish authority, or to those Spaniards who were formerly their owners.—I am, GENTLEMEN,

“ Your most obedient humble Servant,

“ LEVESON.” *

In April, your Secretaries addressed a Circular to the friends of the Abolition cause in the West of Scotland, informing them of the Great Convention which was to be held in London, and requesting them to send Delegates to that interesting Assembly.

On the 27th July, a Public Meeting of the Members and friends of the Society was held in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, to receive the Celebrated American Abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison of Boston, and his Co-Delegates to the late Anti-Slavery Convention in London—Nathaniel P. Rogers of Concord, New Hampshire; Charles L. Remond, from New York, and William Adam, from Rhode Island. On this occasion, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed:—

Moved by the *Rev. William Anderson*, and seconded by the *Rev. Patrick Brewster*, one of the Ministers of Paisley,

“ Resolved—That this Meeting most cordially welcomes to Scotland, and to the City of Glasgow, the devoted Champion of the cause of his ‘fellow-countrymen in chains,’ WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and the other American Anti-Slavery Delegates, now present; and, at the same time, record their thanks to Almighty God for the preservation vouchsafed them, in the midst of the imminent dangers to which they have been exposed: That they rejoice in the advancing triumphs of the principles of impartial liberty in the United States, and renew to their Transatlantic Brethren and Sisters their pledge to co-operate with them, in every Christian measure for the overthrow of Slavery in America, and throughout the world.”

Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by the *Rev. H. M. M'Gill*,

“ Resolved—That this Meeting seizes with alacrity the opportunity which the presence of the Male Delegates from the American Anti-Slavery Society affords, of forwarding through those Gentlemen, to the ANTI-SLAVERY WOMEN OF AMERICA, the assurance of their admiration and sympathy, and their earnest exhortation that they will continue in Divine strength steadfast and immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as they know that their labour will not be in vain in the Lord.”

Death has again made a breach in the list of your Committee; and we are called at this Anniversary to mourn the loss of our

* It is very gratifying and satisfactory to observe, by Parliamentary Papers just published, that Her Majesty's Government have followed up this with a Letter from Mr Jerningham to the Spanish Minister—for which, see Appendix, No. II.

late friend, William Craig, Esq., long known in this City as a distinguished advocate of the Cause of Liberty, both civil and religious. Few men evinced a warmer interest in the liberation of the Slaves in our Colonies, or in the progress of Universal Freedom; and his memory will long be cherished with sincere and grateful esteem.

It is proposed to add to the list of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, the names of William P. Paton, Esq., one of the most generous supporters of its objects; and to the Committee, the names of the Rev. John Graham, William Brodie, Thomas Watson, William Gunn, Jun., Robert Mathie, and John A. Fullarton, Esqs.

Such is a summary of the Proceedings of the Society since last Annual Meeting.

An Abstract of the progress of the Cause, will now close this Report.

A cry about a deficiency of labour, and for additional labourers, is loudly raised by the Planters in the Colonies, to create an impression that the Emancipated will not work—a most false and calumnious impression—and to account in their way for the high price of Sugar, while several measures, and some of them of a questionable character, are resorted to, in order to procure labourers.

To this our reply is, that although Female labour is now very much withdrawn from the more oppressive part of Sugar cultivation, and some Males have betaken themselves to the cultivation of their own grounds, and to other occupations, yet, the remaining male labourers, of whom there are fewer on the sick list than formerly, would be found to be nearly, if not fully sufficient to supply the above deficiency, if properly encouraged and rewarded by a fair amount of wages.

But emancipation has not abolished those tyrannical and oppressive principles, which were deeply seated in the breasts of some of the lovers of the Slave system; they cannot bring themselves to regard the emancipated labourers as entitled to Equal Rights with themselves, and to demand a fair value for their labour; hence, much of the labour in the market is not employed to advantage in Sugar cultivation; and indeed from the worn-out state of the land in some of the older Colonies, we hardly ever expect to see the same quantity of Sugar extracted from the same lands.

Yet we believe we are correct in stating, that while several Estates, from the overbearing conduct of the Managers, the unproductiveness of the worn-out soil, or unfavourable wea-

ther, have fallen short in their crop; and others have been purposely neglected to depreciate their value, so that they may be the more easily bought up; there are many instances of Estates under good and humane management, which have equalled and even exceeded their average crop of Sugar this last year.

If more labourers are wanted to open up new and fertile soil, to this we object not, if no undue advantage is taken of the labourer imported—but if it is desired to glut the market with labour, so as to lower the price, that these iron-hearted and avaricious oppressors may pick and choose their victims, to this we decidedly put in our veto.

Meantime we rejoice, that the Hill Coolie Gladstonian Slave Trade has been abandoned by Parliament; and we look forward to see the Emancipated in our Colonies, under the administration of impartial legislation, becoming Renters and Proprietors of land themselves.

Before leaving the West India Colonies, we must remark and deplore, that the same spirit which oppresses the Emancipated, is persecuting, even to imprisonment, their staunch friends, the Missionaries and others.

We next glance at the United States of America, where the Battle of Emancipation for nearly THREE MILLIONS of our fellowmen remains to be fought, and is becoming daily more and more interesting. Here much good has been done, and a marked onward progress has been made by the noble band of Abolitionists, under many trying difficulties, and many have been added to their ranks.

“The isolated drop which, in 1829, appeared on the surface of the land, is now swallowed up and lost in a great ocean of humanity, which is swelling and dashing against the walls of the American Bastile with a might that is irresistible. The solitary individual who, eleven years ago, stood up as the advocate of Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation, with scarcely one to cheer him in the conflict with American Slavery”—and whom you lately had the high satisfaction of seeing and hearing among you on this platform—William Lloyd Garrison—“sees now around him, [shall we say] in *amicable league*, hundreds of thousands of persons of both sexes, members of every sect and party, from the most elevated to the humblest rank in life, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant.”

But while we rejoice that the spirit of Abolitionism has gone forth successfully last year as formerly, and is working a

glorious transformation on the minds of the American people, which must, with the aid of external circumstanées, soon, we trust, work out the destruction of Slavery in the United States; we cannot but lament the division in the ranks of the combatants—we cannot but regret that they have permitted their differences of opinion, on other subjects, to divide their efforts on this.

Prejudice against colour, sex, sect and party, have, whether avowed or not, exercised a pernicious influence in disuniting those who, while the tender feelings of humanity reigned predominant in their bosoms, should, as kindred drops, have been mingled into one.

Whilst the foregoing distinctions should, upon Christian principle, have been regarded as matters of indifference, and as no proof whatever, either of the fitness or unfitness of any one to be enlisted in this warfare against cruelty and oppression, the most deadly and destructive to a large portion of the human race—the only test required should have been sufficient proof of a bosom glowing with humanity to man—the test of discipleship required by our common Saviour—“by *this* shall all men know that ye are *my* disciples, if ye have *love* one toward another.”

Love to one another, love to our brother in bonds, and the faculty of giving utterance to that love so as to affect the hearts of others, should be *the only qualification* required for the advocacy of the cause of our down-trodden brothers and sisters. What man, if his house were on fire, would, before he would receive their proffered aid, first inquire of those bringing buckets of water to extinguish it—of what colour, sex, sect, or party, the auxiliaries were!

Such, as above, are the principles of the “AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY;” and upon which there is established a platform broad enough for all the Advocates of the Cause. We heartily desire that the “American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,” which has separated from the *National Society*, may yet unite with it on this broad Christian principle;—but, if this cannot be brought about, that, although separated, they may both be blessed by God, cordially and harmoniously to work out the entire destruction of the monster, Slavery, from their otherwise happy and interesting Country.

The Slave Trade has, for the past year, raged with undiminished violence, none but the usual measures to oppose it being in operation; but as another Society “for the extinction of the Slave Trade and the civilization of Africa,” of which

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton is the originator—has been lately added to those having that directly or indirectly for their object; and as several plans for its Abolition were presented to the Convention, and the Expedition to the Niger will soon be ready to sail, the atrocious system may be expected to receive some material check next year.*

The British India Society has been assiduously labouring, through its indefatigable agent, Mr George Thompson, “to diffuse information, to direct more efficiently the public attention, to a subject involving no less our commercial and political interests, than our social and moral duties, and to suggest and give effect to such measures as are likely to improve the circumstances, and provide for the happiness of the People of British India.” Several Auxiliary Societies have been formed, and an interest has been excited in behalf of its object; which is, to improve the condition of the Natives of India, by, among other means, promoting the cultivation of Cotton, Sugar, and other Tropical productions, by *Free labour*, in order to compete with these articles, the produce of Slave labour in the United States, Cuba and Brazil—and thereby to accelerate the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

We quote the following from the First Report of this Society :—

“ If the formation of the British India Society at first fell coldly on the ear of those classes of the British public, whose mere pecuniary advantage is, in reality, the most deeply interested in its success,—far different were the feelings which the announcement excited in the breast of every real friend to freedom in the United States of America—still more different were at first the surprise, next the gratitude and outpouring thankfulness of heart with which the Society has been hailed by the natives of India, wherever a free public expression of their sentiments is permitted to be given. In Calcutta, the capital of the empire, the Landholders’ Society, composed principally of natives, met together, and subscribed £500 in aid of the Society. From Calcutta, from Madras, from Bombay, from Agra, from all the four presidencies of India, natives have addressed the Committee in the same strong language of thanks, and have besought them with the same earnest entreaty to persevere in claiming for the natives at large the common privileges of British subjects.

“ In the United States, Mr Garrison, a distinguished citizen of New England, whom we have the honour of seeing to-day on this platform, reprinted all Mr Thompson’s Manchester Lectures, prefaced by an introduction from his own eloquent pen. This work, aided by other efforts of the like kind, produced a deep impression among the true lovers of their country in America.

“ As it is to Cotton that their country now owes the curse of Slavery,

* We also angur good to suffering Africa from the appointment of Sir John Jeremie to the Government of Sierra Leone.

they at once perceived that it is by Cotton, by *free East Indian Cotton*, that this curse is to be peaceably grappled with and extinguished.

" While the provinces were being awakened and informed, the Committee on their parts endeavoured by all the means at their disposal to create an interest in the Society, by making known its objects, by opening, soliciting, and maintaining a correspondence with individuals and associated bodies who are disposed to promote them, and by preparing, printing, and circulating papers and pamphlets on subjects connected with India.. The number of these that have been printed is 26,750, exclusive of a large number of newspapers that have been distributed."

The Society has had new vigour transfused into it; its very efficient Agent has been re-engaged; and also as resident Secretary, Mr William Adam, late of Calcutta, a gentleman of high literary attainments, who has resided twenty years in Bengal; is acquainted with the language, manners, and statistics of the Country; is known and respected by the Natives as their tried friend, and who has exerted himself strenuously to promote the education of all classes. Thus encouraged, the Committee of the British India Society derive new hope and confidence to persevere in the righteous cause they have espoused. Prompted, doubtless, by the exposure of the condition of the Natives, and the remedy proposed, we rejoice to find it stated in the public journals, that the East India Directors are taking measures for encouraging the growth and improving the quality of Cotton in India; from which, we may reasonably anticipate, that results of the most satisfactory kind will be produced.*

Not having yet been favoured with the Annual Report of the Aborigines' Protection Society, we can say but little of its progress. But one of your Secretaries, when in London at the Convention, attended the Annual Meeting of the Society, and heard some interesting accounts of its beneficial effects in restraining the violence of Colonists to the Original Inhabitants, and in promoting wholesome legislation in newly settled countries.

Your Committee, contemplating the holding of the late General Anti-Slavery Convention in London, appointed, as already noticed, a number of Gentlemen to represent your Society in that Body. Ten of these attended the Convention, which was comprised of upwards of four hundred Delegates from all parts of the World; who sat in close deliberation upon the matters brought under their notice, from the 12th to the 23d of June inclusive. Several of the early measures of the Convention, or of its Managing Committee, gave consider-

* For a most interesting document on this subject, see Appendix III.

able pain to the minds of some of your Representatives, as well as to the minds of many others, with whom they were called to associate. The suppression of a large and important portion of the introductory Speech of the venerable president, THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq.,* and the exclusion of certain of the Delegates from America, may be mentioned as acts which, in the opinion of these Gentlemen, were of an illiberal, unauthorised, and overbearing character.†

Your Committee, while they feel bound in faithfulness, to place these opinions upon record, have pleasure, at the same time, in stating those views which were unanimously entertained by the Deputation, and in which they also cordially concur; viz., that the object for which the Convention was called, was in the highest degree worthy the attention of Philanthropists of all Nations—that the principles upon which the great Cause of Universal Freedom was made to rest, were of the soundest and loftiest description, and that the discussions which took place, were characterized by a fervent and enlightened hostility to the existing systems of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

The Committee doubt not, that the proceedings of the late Convention, have given a powerful impetus to the Abolition Cause throughout the world; and that those proceedings, when fully published, will confirm the expectations, and rekindle the zeal of those who have, hitherto, laboured for the oppressed.

While the work in which the Glasgow Emancipation Society is engaged, has increased in magnitude before our eyes, there has also been revealed, in a remarkable and cheering manner, new and potent means of advancing that work—means which promise, in their faithful and comprehensive employment, to be commensurate to the removal of the evils against which we contend.

From all the occurrences of the past year, and the prospects arising out of the movements directly and indirectly bearing upon the question of Slavery and the Slave Trade—on that of British India, and the treatment of the Aborigines of various countries, we have reason to bless God for the measure of success which has been granted, and for the encouragement thus afforded to labour, with unabated zeal, in a Cause which has been so signally marked by the Divine favour.

* Mr Clarkson's Speech, as originally prepared by him, with the suppressed portion distinguished, will be found at Appendix IV.

† For names of the Delegates excluded from the Convention, and of those who refused to take their places, in consequence of that exclusion; with the Resolutions of Meetings of Abolitionists in America, approving the course pursued by Messrs. GARRISON, ROGERS, REMOND, and ADAMS, see Appendix V.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE FRENCH SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, TO
MESSRS. JOHN MURRAY AND WM. SMEAL,

Secretaries of the Glasgow Society for the Abolition of Slavery.

GENTLEMEN,—Mr John Scoble has presented to us, at the Meeting of our Society, on the 10th of this present month of February, the Letter of which you made him the bearer, and which is dated at Glasgow, the 5th of the same.

The Letter was read at the sitting of the Society, which has ordered it to be honourably entered on its records. It has also ordered its President to address to you the expression of its gratitude, on the subject of the renewal of a correspondence which had its commencement in the last year of the life of the illustrious General Lafayette.

From 1835, the date of the formation of our Society, till 1840, the time at which we are now arrived, that is, in five years, we have overcome the prejudices which opposed even the pronunciation of the word Liberty in the French Tribune, when debating the subject of Slavery in our Colonies. We have popularized this question, and have obtained the adherence of a certain number of the Consuls-General of the Departments; and after having in a series of Parliamentary discussions, led the Government to realize many practical ameliorations, we have been able to introduce the question into the Chamber by two direct propositions,—the one by M. Passy, the other by M. de Tracy, an Honorary Member of your Society. The Colonial Consuls, forced, in their turn, to examine the matter, have repelled Emancipation and every thing leading to it. This is what we might expect. But we know that the inhabitants of our Colonies are favourable to this great measure, and there remains now only for discussion, the question of Compensation, and the period at which Emancipation should take place.

We have been wonderfully assisted by the example given by Great Britain, in 1833 and 1838. We have also been aided in our efforts, by the honourable and much regretted Zachary Macaulay, whom we had named Honorary President.

In consequence of the oral information, and the written documents which Messrs. Scoble, Alexander, and Whitehorne, have now laid before us, we have been able again to urge the necessity of this Emancipation, and to announce, that, ere long, there will be no Slaves under the Government of the French Crown, unless unforeseen political events cause a longer delay. We shall make every effort to prevent this.

We have to deal with a formidable adversary—private interest; for it has not yet been proved, that Emancipation can be accomplished without a considerable diminution in the produce of the Sugar Colonies; and, although the diminution which was exhibited in the first year of your Emancipation, is fully explained by the statements which you have laid before us, and which the Delegates from the London Society have developed with so much talent and precision, it continues to act strongly on the minds of the Members of the Chambers, otherwise disposed to vote Emancipation. It is at least to them a motive for delay. They wished to profit by your experience.

We consider that the absurd and dangerous system of Apprenticeship, will never once be thought of in the law of Abolition. Emancipation, by giving Freedom to the Children, presents very great difficulties, and would be too tedious; at the same time, that it would leave the young generation unprotected.

The French Society, then, thinks it its duty, to approve of an entire Emancipation. If compensation be agreed to by a majority of the Chamber, on the pretext that the advantages of Free labour will not be felt for some time to come, the Abolitionists will never vote for this compensation, as it is an admission of the property of man in man;—we will never admit this odious principle.

We concur with you, and with all the friends of Religion, Justice, and Humanity, in the cause of the Universal Abolition of Slavery.

Be pleased to accept the expression of our highest consideration.

ODILLON BARROT, *President of the Society.*
ISAMBERT, *Secretary.*

PARIS, 26th February, 1840.

No. II.

CASE OF THE AMISTAD.

PARLIAMENTARY Papers just published, furnish gratifying evidence of the part taken by her Majesty's Government in relation to this vessel, in the following letter of Mr Jerningham to the Spanish Minister:—

MADRID, *January 5th, 1840.*

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that her Majesty's Government received information that in the course of the last summer the *Tecora*, a vessel under Portuguese colours, imported from Africa direct to the Havana a cargo of negroes as slaves, and that, about six weeks after the arrival of these newly imported negroes at the Havana, forty-nine of them were purchased in the public slave-market in that place, by Jose Ruiz, and four more by Pedro Montes.

Ruiz and Montes then engaged the Spanish schooner *Amistad* to carry

these negroes, together with themselves and stores, to another port in Cuba. During the passage the negroes, with a view of recovering their liberty, seized possession of the vessel, put the master to death, and ordered the remaining whites to direct the course of the vessel to the coast of Africa. These whites, however, navigated the vessel towards the coast of the United States of America, until they were fallen in with by the United States Brig-of-War, *Washington*, which conducted the *Amistad* to the port of New London.

The negroes were subsequently put upon their trial before the district court at Hartford for the murder of the Spanish Captain; but it appears that this court expressed doubts of its having jurisdiction in the case, and that in the mean time the Spanish minister at Washington demanded that the negroes should be given up to the authorities of Cuba, as the property of Messrs. Ruiz and Montes.

It is however to be observed, that since the year 1820, according to Spanish law, it has been illegal to import negroes from Africa into the Spanish dominions. As, therefore, these negroes had been newly imported from Africa into Cuba, and as, according to the law, they could not be imported as slaves, they must in the eye of the law be considered as free persons.

I have consequently been instructed by my Government to call upon the Government of her Catholic Majesty to issue, with as little delay as possible, strict orders to the authorities of Cuba, that, if the request of the Spanish Minister at Washington be complied with, these negroes may be put in possession of the liberty of which they were deprived, and to the recovery of which they have an undeniable title.

I am further directed to express the just expectations of her Majesty's Government, that the government of her Catholic Majesty will cause the laws against the slave-trade to be enforced against Messrs. Jose Ruiz and Pedro Montes, who purchased these newly imported negroes, and against all such other Spanish subjects as have been concerned in this nefarious transaction.—I have, &c.,

(Signed)

G. S. S. JERNINGHAM.

To his Excellency Don Evaristo Perez de Castro, &c.

No. III.

GROWTH OF COTTON IN INDIA.

(*From the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN of August 15th, 1840.*)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS TO A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES AT MANCHESTER, ON THE GROWTH OF COTTON IN INDIA.

THE question of obtaining Cotton from various countries must necessarily be interesting to a manufacturing community whose prosperity greatly depends upon a plentiful and steady supply of the raw material,

since it must be obvious that security against the contingencies of failing crops, political disagreements, or unsteadiness of price, arising from speculative combinations, must be in proportion to the number of channels from whence we derive our supplies. The Board, therefore, have great satisfaction in calling together the members of the Chamber to report upon the progress which has been made towards obtaining an increased supply and improved quality of East India Cotton, a subject which has engaged much of their attention, and has for several years past had a prominent place in their Annual Reports to the Chamber. The importance of improving the cultivation of India Cotton has long been impressed upon the Chambers of Commerce of Bombay and Bengal; and many valuable communications have been received by the board from these bodies during a correspondence of several years, in which suggestions have been mutually made as to the best means of accomplishing the object in view. The nature of some of the difficulties in India to the successful cleaning of Cotton, will be best seen by the following extract from a communication from the Chamber of Commerce at Bombay, in 1837:—

“Some impediments exist, arising from the climate, to which it seems necessary to draw your attention. The S. W. monsoon commences generally on this side of India early in June, when all communication ceases with the coast, and, from the state of the roads and rivers, with the interior generally. The Cotton begins to be gathered about the end of February, but it is not generally ready for picking until the middle of March: thus eleven or twelve weeks is all the period the natives have annually to gather, clean, prepare, and ship the Cotton for the Bombay market, and to store from the weather what they cannot ship before the rainy season commences.

“Labourers are thus in great request at that time, all these operations being done by manual labour; and each churka requires two men or women to turn it, and another to feed or supply it with Cotton.

“At the commencement of the season, more time and care are given in cleaning; but afterwards all is hurry and bustle, and less attention is bestowed; the advanced period of the season, and the near approach of the monsoon, then allowing so little time for careful cleaning.

“When time is taken, and care bestowed, the churka seems to clean the Cotton from seed very well; but the process is tedious, the average outturn of clean Cotton from each being about 38 or 40lb per day.”

This slow and expensive process of cleaning, it is obvious, would present insuperable obstacles to a greatly extended production of Cotton; and with the view of directing the attention of mechanical skill to some more efficient and cheaper mode of preparing it for market, the Chamber of Commerce at Bombay, in 1837, forwarded to this Chamber, and also to the Chamber of Commerce at Glasgow, a churka, the machine used in India for cleaning Cotton, and also several bales of Cotton as gathered from the field, with the seed attached to it, for the purpose of making experiments in cleaning by any new machine which might be invented. This board invited the attention of ingenious mechanics to the subject by public advertisement, announcing that the churka would be exhibited to any person desirous of seeing it. The result was several attempts to improve it; but the desirable object of cleaning large quantities with facility and economy has not been attained.

In December, 1838, a deputation from this board presented a memorial to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, suggesting a modification of the land tax of India, the abrogation of the system of levying the tax in kind, the improvement of the roads, the construction

of piers, quays, and storing warehouses at the ports; and praying that every obstacle might be removed, and encouragement given to capitalists to embark in the cultivation of Cotton in India.

Copies of the above memorial were presented by the deputation, to Sir James Carnac, the recently-appointed Governor of Bombay, on the 12th of January, 1839, and to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, on the 19th of the same month.

The deputation, in their interviews with Sir James Carnac, and with the India board, found that an opinion extensively prevailed that such physical difficulties existed in the soil of India as would prevent any great improvement in the quality of Cotton grown in that country. These opinions were, we have reason to hope, successfully combated by the deputation, and a promise was promptly given to take the whole subject into serious consideration.

This promise was not suffered to remain a dead letter. On the 15th March, 1839, a "Dispatch from the Court of Directors of the Hon. East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council" (a copy of which was printed in the Appendix to the Annual Report of this Chamber for the past year) was forwarded, transmitting "copies of the Memorials received from the Chambers of Commerce of Glasgow and Manchester, and from the East India Association of Liverpool and Glasgow, on the subject of cultivating Cotton in India;" and referring to the measures which had been pursued from time to time with little success, the Hon. Court expressed the great interest it continued to feel in the extension of the cultivation of that article, and the steps which had been taken to "engage parties in the United States willing to proceed to India and duly qualified for the purpose of instructing and superintending the natives in the cultivation of Cotton, and the proper mode of cleaning it by means of machinery." The Hon. Court also authorized his Excellency "to offer rewards of such an amount as he might consider sufficient to stimulate parties engaged in the production to exhibit Cotton of good growth, and cleaned by machinery."—"The minute by the Governor-General of India, dated Simla, August 14th, 1839," in reply to this dispatch (a copy of which was printed in the Appendix to the Annual Report of this Chamber for the past year), is an able and enlightened document. His Excellency says, "All the value of success in introducing in India a better produce of Cotton suited for the immense manufactures of England, is fully appreciated by me." He then enters into a minute examination of the memorials laid before him—the difficulties to encounter in carrying into effect the wishes of the Hon. Court, and the best course to be adopted to facilitate the experiments of the parties to be brought over from the United States. It is satisfactory to observe the wise discrimination exercised by his Excellency between the "artificial fosterings of the devotion of capital to particular employments by systems of bounties," and the wholesome encouragement to laudable enterprise by the removal of all obstacles to the free employment of capital and labour. The sentiment expressed by the Governor-General, on this point, and the steps already taken to remove existing impediments to freedom of industry, warrant the hope that the enlightened views entertained by his Excellency will be fully carried out. Already the transit duties on internal intercourse have been abolished throughout the presidencies of Bengal and Bombay—"a boon," says the Minute, "I trust to be soon conferred on the territories of Madras. From this measure we may look for the best effects in the quickening of every enterprize which may seem to rest upon really solid foundations." It is further observed, with reference to the Memorial of this Chamber suggesting a modification

of the land tax, that, "It is now the general rule and practice throughout India that the assessment on land cultivated with superior products shall be no higher than the average rate of land of similar quality, whatever the crop reared on it." His Excellency appears to have misapprehended the meaning of the Chamber, which was that the amount of the land tax generally was excessive, and calculated to discourage the production, not only of Cotton, but of every other commodity. With respect to the abolition of the system of levying taxes in kind, the "Minute" states that "the custom of taking revenue in kind is nowhere retained." The other subjects referred to in the Memorial, viz., the improvement of the roads, the construction of piers, quays, and storing warehouses at the ports of shipment, are severally noticed in the "Minute," and their importance appreciated. "The building of warehouses," his Excellency observes, "seems rather the province of the private merchant than of the government. It may, however, be very proper to inquire from the government of Bombay whether there are local reasons which in Guzerat would render the interference of the state useful and expedient for such a purpose, as well as whether there is a want of suitable quays at any of the ports."

The board have the further satisfaction to report, that, by accounts received from India last week, the Governor-General has offered three prizes for the growth of a certain quantity and quality of Cotton. The first prize of 20,000 rupees, or £2,000; the second, of 10,000 rupees, or £1,000; and the third of 5,000 rupees, or £500. The earnestness of the Court of the Hon. the East India Company was further evinced in sending out Captain Bayles to the United States for the purpose of engaging persons competent to establish and superintend an improved system of Cotton culture in India; a course which, in the opinion of this board, was the most judicious which could be adopted for carrying into effect the objects contemplated. Captain Bayles succeeded in his mission, and recently returned from the United States with the gentlemen whom he had engaged to proceed to India, provided with a considerable quantity of seeds, and with several American saw gins for cleaning Cotton. With a view to ascertain the precise requisites in the Cotton most wanted in this district, Captain Bayles, accompanied by several of these gentlemen, came to Manchester to seek personally such information as to the faults now existing in the India Cotton brought to this country, and the improvements most desirable to effect in it, as might assist them in their future pursuits. Their first application was to this Chamber, and such assistance was cheerfully afforded as fully carried out the object they had in view. They visited various mills, and had pointed out to them the deficiencies of India Cotton, particularly in reference to its cleanness and the irregularity of its staple, both of which they expressed confidence in being able to improve.

In the meantime, the saw gins brought by Captain Bayles from the United States were set up in Liverpool, and a communication, dated 9th July last, was received from the Secretary to the Honourable the East India Company, inviting the Directors of this Board to meet the Chairman and Deputy-chairman, with some members of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, at Liverpool, on the 17th July, "to witness the experiments to be made in the machinery for cleaning Cotton." The Board nominated a Deputation to proceed to Liverpool on the appointed day, and the result of the experiments will be best shown by the following Report of the Deputation to this Board.

R E P O R T.

The Directors appointed at the last meeting of this Board, as a Deputation to Liverpool, in compliance with the invitation given by the Chairman and Deputy-chairman of the Hon. East India Company, to meet them there to witness the experiments intended to be made, of cleaning India Cotton with the saw gin, proceeded thither accordingly on the 17th ult., and were present at the experiments made there on that day. The same Directors have also this week witnessed a repetition of those experiments, by the same machines, in Manchester.

They consider the results of those experiments to be, on the whole, highly satisfactory ; as proving, beyond a doubt, the practicability of cleaning India Cotton with the American saw gin ; although it is evident, at the same time, that personal skill and experience will be requisite to adapt the machine to the particular species of Cotton it is intended to operate upon.

It likewise seems worthy of remark, that some difficulties may have to be encountered in India, in providing the requisite *moving power* for driving machinery of this description.

It appears, therefore, to be a very judicious arrangement which the Hon. East India Company have adopted, viz., to send over to India, with the machines, several talented and experienced gentlemen, natives of the United States of America, and brought up as Cotton planters, who will be able to give a new impulse to the growth of Cotton in India, and to devise and carry into effect the best methods of driving the saw gin, and applying that machine to the very important purpose of cleaning the Cotton so produced.

The Deputation wish to record their grateful sense of the zeal and energy displayed by the Hon. East India Company in the promotion of this great national object, and of the able manner in which their views have been carried out by Captain Bayles.

HOLLAND HOOLE, VICE-PRESIDENT.
HENRY ASHWORTH.
DAVID PRICE.
CHARLES POOLEY.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MANCHESTER, }
5th August, 1840. }

The saw gins commonly used in the United States are capable of producing 1,000lb to 1,200lb weight of clean Cotton per day ; whilst the churka, with the labour of three persons, produces only 38lb to 40lb per day. The Board entertain sanguine hopes, that, if encouraged, the mechanics of this district will be able to effect improvements in the saw gins exhibited at Manchester ; and this expectation is strengthened by the fact, that the samples cleaned here by machines, being submitted to three competent judges, it was decided that the quality of one of the samples was superior to the others by one-fourth to three-eighths per 1lb, although the seed Cotton submitted to be cleaned by each machine was precisely the same. The machine which produced the best sample was built at the works of Messrs. Fawcett & Co., of Liverpool, under the superintendence of Dr. Jones, the patentee.

The Board, in conclusion, have only to add, that, if the efforts of the Hon. East India Company, so judiciously commenced, be perseveringly

followed up (as they feel assured they will be) in a manner commensurate with their importance to the interests of England and of India, they cannot doubt of ultimate success.—By order and on behalf of the Board of Directors,

J. B. SMITH, PRESIDENT.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MANCHESTER, }
12th August, 1840. }

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No. IV.

SPEECH OF THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq.,

AS ORIGINALLY PREPARED BY HIM IN WRITING, AND INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION;

Distinguishing those Passages which were omitted, but which are now published with Mr Clarkson's permission.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I stand before you as a humble individual, whose life has been most intimately connected with the subject which you are met this day to consider. I was formerly, *under Providence*, the *originator*, and am now unhappily the only surviving Member, of the Committee, which was first instituted in this country in the year 1787, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. My dear friend and fellow-labourer, Mr Wilberforce, who was one of them, is, as you know, dead; and here I may say of him, that there was never a man, either dead or living, to whom your cause was more indebted than to him. My dear friend and fellow-labourer, William Smith, the late Member for Norwich, who was another of them, is dead also, by whose indefatigable exertions for nearly fifty years, both in and out of Parliament, it was most vigorously supported. As to the rest of the Committee, Samuel Hoare, William Dilwyn, George Harrison, Richard Phillips, and the other dear friends whose names I am sorry that I cannot at this moment recollect, these also are all dead, and gone no doubt to their eternal rest. My dear friends, I was invited many months ago to be at this Meeting, but old age and infirmities,—being lame and nearly blind,—and, besides, being otherwise seriously affected at times, gave me no hope of attending. At length I have been permitted to come among you, and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in this place in reference to your future labours,—Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I myself can say with truth, that though my body is fast going to decay, my *heart* beats as warmly in this sacred cause, now in the 81st year of my age as it did at the age of 24, when I first took it up. And I can say further, with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same object. So far for your encouragement and perseverance.

My dear friends, you have a most difficult task to perform ; it is neither more nor less than the extirpation of Slavery from the *whole world*. Your opponents who appear the most formidable, are the Cotton and other planters in the southern parts of the United States ; who, I am grieved to say, hold *more than two millions of their fellow-creatures in the most cruel bondage*. Now we know of these men, that they are living in the daily habits of injustice, cruelty, and oppression, and may be therefore said to have no true fear of God, nor any just sense of religion. You cannot therefore expect to have the same hold upon the consciences of these as you have upon the consciences of others. How then can you get at these so as to influence their conduct. There is but one way ; you must endeavour to make *them feel their guilt in its consequences*. You must endeavour by all justifiable means to affect their temporal interests. You must endeavour, among other things, to have the produce of *free tropical labour* brought into the markets of Europe, and undersell them there,—and if you can do this, *your victory is sure*.

“ Now that this is *possible*, that this *may be done*, there is no question. “ The East India Company alone can do it of themselves, and they can do “ it by means that are perfectly *moral and pacific, according to your own principles*, namely, *by the cultivation of the earth*, and by the employment “ *of free labour*. They may, if they please, not only have the high “ honour of abolishing Slavery and the Slave Trade, but the advantage of “ increasing their revenue beyond all calculation ; for, in the first place, “ they have land in their possession twenty times more than equal to the “ *supply of all Europe with tropical produce* ; in the second place, they “ can procure, not tens of thousands, but tens of millions of free labourers “ to work ; in the third, *what is of the greatest consequence* in this case, “ the price of labour with these is only from a penny to three-halfpence “ per day.—What Slavery can stand against these prices ?

“ I learn, too, from letters which I have seen from India, and from the “ *Company's own Reports*, that they have been long engaged, shall I say “ *providentially engaged*, in preparing seeds for the cultivation of Cotton “ *thiere*. Now if we take into consideration all *these previous preparations* “ (by which it appears that they are ready to start), and add to this the “ consideration that they could procure, not tens of thousands, but *tens of millions* of free labourers to work,—I speak from authority,—I believe “ that if they would follow up their plans heartily, and with spirit, according “ to their means, that in the course of *six* years they would materially “ *affect the price of this article* at market, and in *twelve* that they would “ be able to *turn the tide* completely against the growers of it in the “ United States.

“ And here I would observe, that this is not a visionary or fanciful “ statement. Look at the American newspapers ; look at the American “ pamphlets which have come out upon this subject ; look at the opinion “ of the celebrated Judge Jay on this subject also : all, all, confess, and “ the planters too confess—but the latter with fear and trembling—that if “ the East India Company should resolve upon the cultivation of tropical “ products in India, and carry it to the extent to which they would be “ capable of carrying them—it is *all over with American Slavery*.

“ Gentlemen, I have mentioned these circumstances, not with a view of “ *dictating to you* any particular plan of operations, but only to show you “ *the possibility of having your great object accomplished, and this to its fullest extent* ; for what I have said relative to the United States is equally “ applicable to Cuba, Brazil, and other parts of the South American

"Continent; and, besides, the East India Company have twenty times more land than is sufficient to enable them to compete with them all."

I have only now to say, may the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may *He* in his abundant mercy, guide your councils, and give his blessing upon your labours.

N.B.—The passages now first published, are those within inverted commas.

No. V.

I. NAMES of AMERICAN DELEGATES EXCLUDED from the London Anti-Slavery Convention, by the Resolution declaring Females inadmissible :—

MRS JAMES MOTT, of Philadelphia.
 MISS SARAH PUGH, do.
 MISS MARY GREW, do.
 MRS WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston.
 MISS ABBY SOUTHWICK, do.
 MISS EMILY WINSLOW, do.
 MISS ELIZABETH NEAL.

II. DELEGATES who refused to take Seats in the Convention, owing to the passing of the aforesaid Resolution :—

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., of Boston.
 NATHANIEL P. ROGERS, Esq., of Concord, New Hampshire.
 CHARLES LENOX REMOND, Esq., of Newport, Rhode Island.
 WILLIAM ADAMS, Esq., of Pawtucket, do.

III. RESOLUTIONS OF ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN AMERICA,

Approving the course pursued by these Gentlemen.

AT A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE COLOURED CITIZENS OF BOSTON, TO RECEIVE WM. LLOYD GARRISON, AND NATHANIEL P. ROGERS, ON THEIR RETURN FROM ENGLAND, 20th August, 1840 :—

"Resolved, That we highly approve of the course of Messrs. Garrison, Rogers, Remond, and Adams, at the 'World's Convention,' (falsely so called,) in refusing to lower a noble principle to accommodate a barbarous custom."

"Resolved, That we, the coloured citizens of Boston, feel ourselves ably represented at Anti-Slavery meetings in England, in the person of Charles Lenox Remond."

NEW HAMPSHIRE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, HELD 9th AND 10th
September :—

“Resolved, That we cordially approve the course of our delegate to the ‘World’s Convention,’ (N. P. ROGERS,) in refusing to join or in any way to countenance its proscriptive substitute, the ‘London Conference’—and that we hereby tender him our grateful thanks for the *able, faithful, and fearless* manner in which he has represented the Anti-Slavery men and women of New-Hampshire to the assembled abolitionism of the Eastern Continent and the world.”

“Resolved, That this Convention honour the names of GEORGE THOMPSON, DANIEL O’CONNELL, WM. H. ASHURST, DR. BOWRING, and WILLIAM HOWITT, for the fearless and faithful reproof of the Managers of the London Conference, for their exclusion of a portion of the Anti-Slavery Delegates from America—and for their able advocacy of the unrestricted rights of humanity.”

DORCHESTER ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY MEETING, HELD 14th Sept. :—

“Resolved, That we highly approve of the course pursued by the Delegates of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies to the so-called ‘World’s Convention,’ and we bid them a hearty welcome on their return to their native soil.”

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN MORAL REFORM SOCIETY (COMPOSED, WE BELIEVE, EXCLUSIVELY OF COLOURED PERSONS), HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, 11th August, AND THREE FOLLOWING DAYS :—

“Resolved, That the cause of moral reform in all its various ramifications, is the cause of God, of liberty, and justice,—the basis of all true philanthropy. Its principles are alike applicable to the people of every nation, and condition of mankind; throughout every age, and every clime. It embraces both sexes and every complexion; and fills illimitable space with its power.

“Resolved, That we regard the Congregation of Nations in the City of London, in June last, for the promotion of human freedom, as the first grand legitimate result of these great principles; and the most *august* assemblage that has ever been witnessed in the tide of time.

“Resolved, That we DEEPLY REGRET, that these broad and illustrious principles were violated and its fame tarnished, by the rejection of *Women* from an equal participation in its proceedings.

“Resolved, That the delegates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to the ‘London General Conference’ would, by accepting their seats in that distinguished body, (after a portion of their colleagues were excluded on account of their sex) have dishonoured their society at home, and been regardless of the rights and feelings of their associates.

“Resolved, That we regard the principle erroneous, and the practice unjust, of deciding on the right of *human beings*, to perform deeds of philanthropy, according to the *usages* of nations, and that if Wm. Lloyd Garrison had acquiesced in the force of *British usage*, he would have proved himself recreant to the great principles of his motto, ‘OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.’”

MASSACHUSETTS STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, HELD 6th AND
7th October :—

“Resolved, That the course of Wm. LLOYD GARRISON, NATHANIEL P. ROGERS, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, and Wm. ADAMS, as Delegates to the ‘World’s Convention,’ in declining to take a seat in the Conference substituted for that body, meets the cordial approval of this Convention, as a course entirely consistent with the principles of the Societies which they represented, and imperatively called for by the ungenerous and exclusive character of that Conference.”

“Resolved, That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in organizing the Convention held recently in London, deceived the expectations and baffled the hopes of the Abolitionists of this country, who were looking for a ‘World’s Convention,’ and insulted the American Anti-Slavery Society, by dishonouring its credentials, and rejecting its delegates.”

“Resolved, That the thanks of the Abolitionists of this Commonwealth are specially due to WENDELL PHILIPS, Prof. Wm. ADAM, and GEORGE BRADBURN, for their defence of the right of the Female Delegates from this country to seats in the London Conference; and that those members of that Conference from Great Britain, who stood up with these friends of humanity in defence of the right, have won for themselves the admiration and gratitude of all whose abolitionism is not narrowed and shrivelled by sectarian and party influences.”

“Resolved, That GEORGE THOMPSON is hereby invited, by this Convention, to revisit Massachusetts at as early a day as may be consistent with his convenience.”

“Resolved, That this Convention hails, with cordial approval and delight, the appearance in Great Britain of that important Anti-Slavery movement, the ‘British India Society’—formed to give liberty to enslaved and oppressed millions in India, and furnish the manufactoryes of the civilized world with free labour products instead of slave labour; and that we congratulate that movement and the cause of humanity in the services of GEORGE THOMPSON, and DANIEL O’CONNELL.”

SPRINGFIELD ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, HELD 8th October :—

“Resolved, That, in the estimation of this Commonwealth, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in assuming to determine upon the qualifications for admission to the late Anti-Slavery Meeting in London, on the call for the ‘World’s Convention,’ transcended their authority, which extended merely to the right of calling the meeting and providing the place for it; and that that Committee deserves the indignant rebuke of the American Abolitionists for this assumption—and for their presuming to reject a part of the delegation from this country to that meeting:—and this Convention deeply regret, that the London Conference sanctioned the doings of that Committee, and still more deeply, that any from this side the Atlantic, bearing the name of Abolitionists, were found ready to participate in a transaction so unbecoming the professed advocates of human liberty.”

“Whereas, the Anti-Slavery enterprize is designed to effect a single object,—the Emancipation, by moral and religious meaus, of our enslaved

brethren and sisters, and the elevation and improvement of the coloured people in our land ; and whereas, in order to accomplish this humane purpose, it is desirable and necessary that there should be a union of members of all religious sects, and persons of every shade of religious belief ; therefore,

1. "Resolved, That any attempt to identify this enterprise with the peculiar religious or political opinions of any man, or body of men, is a breach of that faith which is necessary to harmonious action, and should meet the indignant frown of all who have at heart the welfare of the slave.

2. "Resolved, That to point the finger of scorn or reproach at any individual in our ranks, on account of his sentiments in relation to other subjects, or to refuse to co-operate with him in labours for the advancement of the cause, betrays a spirit of sectarianism and intolerance which is hostile to the great principles of our enterprise.

3. "Resolved, That the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, for their firm and fearless course in refusing to exclude from our common platform, or to censure any person on account of sex or religious opinion, and for their faithful exertions to preserve the cause from the blighting and withering influences of sect and party, are entitled to the confidence and support of all the friends of humanity."

"Resolved, That among the most important moral and philanthropic movements of the age, the formation of the British India Society, for the abolition of slavery in British India, and the rescue of one hundred and fifty millions of the natives of that country from British injustice and oppression, is to be hailed with the deepest interest : especially as the successful prosecution of the grand object of that Society cannot fail to inflict a heavy blow upon the system of slavery in this country, by bringing cotton raised by free labour into competition with slave-grown cotton.

"Resolved, That this Convention learn, with great pleasure, that an invitation has been extended to GEORGE THOMPSON, to revisit our shores, and participate with us in the glorious struggle for the supremacy of Liberty over Slavery."

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WEST WRENTHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
HELD 1st September :—

"Whereas, the Convention which met in London, purporting to be a 'World's Convention,' has been narrowed down to a Conference with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the Executive Committee of that Society have exercised the authority of determining who might, and who might not, sit as Delegates in that Convention ; therefore,

"Resolved, That in so doing, they have exercised a usurped power, and thereby cast an insult on all those who came from abroad.

"Resolved, That WM. LLOYD GARRISON, NATHANIEL P. ROGERS, and CHARLES L. REMOND, Delegates from the American Anti-Slavery Society, and WM. ADAMS, Delegate from the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society, have done themselves honour in refusing to join said Convention, not having been sent to such an one, but to a general Convention of Anti-Slavery people from the whole world.

"Resolved, That we believe a meeting, which shall actually be a 'World's Convention,' ought to be called, at some time not far distant, at such place as shall be deemed expedient."

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
HELD 14th October :—

“Resolved, That we hereby assure our members, Ann T. G. Phillips, Abby Southwick, and Emily Winslow, who were present at the London Convention, and who were refused admission to its sittings, that their course in declining to withdraw their claim, commands our hearty approval and respect.

“Resolved, That WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, N. P. ROGERS, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, and WM. ADAMS, have, in our judgment, most effectually aided the cause of the slave, by their refusal, when in London, ‘to lower a great principle in deference to a barbarous usage.’*

“Resolved, That we shall despair of the success of the cause from the moment we see its advocates shrink from making innovations on usages which circumscribe their ability to serve it.

“Resolved, That expressions of our gratitude be transmitted to our friends in England, who have cheered our past efforts with their sympathy and liberal aid, from our formation as a Society to the present time.

“Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Elizabeth Pease, of Darlington, Anne Cropper, of Liverpool, Harriet Martineau, Anne Knight, of Chelmsford, Jane Smeal, of Glasgow, and to the Societies with which we are in correspondence.”

ESSEX COUNTY WOMEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, HELD 14th October :—

“Resolved, That difference of belief in religious matters, and difference of opinion in regard to the great moral questions which agitate community of the present age, should not be allowed in any degree to divide the efforts; or paralyze the energies of those who are labouring in the cause of the oppressed and down-trodden.”

“Resolved, That we tender Mr GARRISON and his colleagues, our hearty thanks for their decided stand, in not taking seats in the so-called ‘World's Convention;’ thus showing their strong disapproval of the narrow spirit of priestcraft and sectarianism, which shut the mouths of free-born American women from speaking in the land of a Queen, for her sisters in American bondage.”

QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY :—

“Resolved, That we highly deprecate the course taken by the mis-named ‘World's Convention,’ in excluding from its deliberations a part of the delegates from this country, on account of their sex, as an unwarrantable assumption of power and insulting to the good sense of the abolitionists of the United States; and that we fully approve of the decision of WM. LLOYD GARRISON, and other delegates, in declining to take seats in that body, as being the most effectual mode of bearing their testimony against its arbitrary proceedings.”

* In reasoning upon the course required of the *excluded* Delegates, to *compromise* “to a barbarous usage,” the great principle of the admissibility of *all*, without distinction of *Sex* or *Sect*, who can *feel* for the Slave, to *plead* for the Slave;—it has been judiciously and appropriately observed, that the Convention were met to devise measures for the *removal* of a barbarous usage, *viz.*, *SLAVERY*.

No. VI.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MRS MOTT AND
DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M.P.,

Relative to the EXCLUSION from the late ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION in LONDON, of the FEMALE DELEGATES from AMERICA, and referred to in the SPEECH of WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., at the ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING, held in GLASGOW, July 27th, 1840.

To DANIEL O'CONNELL.

THE rejected Delegates from America to the "General Anti-Slavery Conference," are desirous to have the opinion of one of the most distinguished advocates of universal liberty as to the reasons urged by the majority for their rejection—viz., that the admission of Women, being contrary to English usage, would subject them to ridicule, and that such recognition of their acknowledged principles would prejudice the cause of human freedom.

Permit me, then, on behalf of the Delegation, to ask of Daniel O'Connell the favour of his sentiment, as incidentally expressed in the meeting on the morning of the 13th instant—and oblige his sincere friend,

LUCRETIA MOTT.

LONDON, 6th MONTH, 17th, 1840.

16, PALL MALL, 20th June, 1840.

MADAM,—Taking the liberty of protesting against being supposed to adopt any of the complimentary phrases in your letter as being applicable to me, I readily comply with your request to give my opinion as to the propriety of the admission of the female Delegates into the Convention.

I should premise by avowing that my first impression was strong against that admission, and I believe I declared that opinion in private conversation. But, when I was called on by you to give my personal decision on the subject, I felt it my duty to investigate the grounds of the opinion I formed; and, upon that investigation, I easily discovered that it was founded on no better grounds than an apprehension of the ridicule it might excite, if the Convention were to do what is so unusual in England—to admit women to an equal share and right of discussion. I also, without difficulty, recognised that this was an unworthy, and indeed a cowardly motive—and I easily overcame its influence.

My mature consideration of the entire subject convinced me of the right of the female Delegates to take their seats in the Convention, and of the injustice of excluding them. I do not care to add, that I think it impolitic, because, that exclusion being unjust, it ought not to have taken place, even if it could also be politic.

My reasons are, *first*, That as it has been the practice in America for

females to act as Delegates and Office-Bearers, as well as in the common capacity of members, of Anti-Slavery Societies, the persons who called this Convention ought to have warned the American Anti-Slavery Societies to confine their choice to males ; and, for want of this caution, many female Delegates have made long journeys by land, and crossed the ocean to enjoy a right, which they had no reason to fear would be withheld from them, at the end of their tedious voyage.

Secondly, The cause which is so intimately interwoven with every good feeling of humanity, and with the highest and most sacred principle of Christianity, the Anti-Slavery cause in America, is under the greatest, the deepest, the most heart-binding obligation to the females who have joined the Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States. They have shown a passive, but permanent courage, which ought to put many of the male advocates of the coloured race to the blush. The American ladies have persevered in our holy cause, amidst difficulties and dangers, with the zeal of confessors, and the firmness of martyrs ; and, therefore, emphatically, they should not be disparaged or discouraged, by any slight or contumely offered to their rights. Nor are this slight and contumely much diminished by the fact, that it was not intended to offer any slight, or convey any contumely. Both results inevitably follow the fact of rejection. This ought not to be.

Thirdly, Even in England, with all our fastidiousness, women vote upon the great regulations of the Bank of England, in the nomination of its Directors and Governors, and in all other details, equally with men. That is, they assist in the most awfully important business, the regulation of the currency of this mighty empire, influencing the fortunes of all commercial nations.

Fourthly, Our women, in like manner, vote at the India House—that is—in the regulation of the Government of more than one hundred millions of human beings.

Fifthly, Mind has no sex ; and, in the peaceable struggle to abolish Slavery all over the world—it is the basis of the present Convention to seek for success by peaceable, moral, and intellectual means alone, to the utter exclusion of physical force or armed violence. We are engaged in a strife not of strength, but of argument. Our warfare is not military ; it is strictly Christian. We wield not the weapons of destruction or injury to our adversaries. We rely entirely on reason and persuasion, common to both sexes, and on the emotions of benevolence and charity—which are more lively and permanent amongst women than amongst men.

In the Church to which I belong, the female sex is devoted by as strict rules, and with as much, if not more, unceasing austerity, to the performance (and that to the exclusion of temporal joys and pleasures) of all works of humanity, of education, of benevolence, and of charity, in all its holy and sacred branches, as the men.

The great work in which we are now engaged embraces all these charitable categories ; and the women have the same duties, and should, therefore, enjoy the same rights with the men, in the performance of these duties.

I have a consciousness that I have not done *my* duty, in not sooner urging these considerations on the Convention—my excuse is, that I was unavoidably absent during the discussion on the subject. I have the honour to be, very respectfully, Madam, your obedient Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

MRS LUCRETIA MOTT.

No. VII.

DIFFERENCES existing among the Anti-Slavery Societies in America, it seems desirable that the Friends of the Slave in this Country should, from *an authentic source*, have an account of their history and present position. The following Report contains sentiments in themselves so excellent, and the spirit which it displays is so thoroughly that of *Universal Freedom*, that it is earnestly recommended to all, to

READ WITH ATTENTION,

RIGHT AND WRONG IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES—OR
SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

— by the *soul*
Only, the nations shall be great and free!
Wordsworth.

Seven years have passed, since we became united under the name of the BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, with the pledge to do all in our power for the extinction of Slavery.

Our first year of association was marked by no event of peculiar interest. The oppressive spirit of the nation had not then been roused by Anti-Slavery effort, to a view of its danger; nor had we, as an Association, attained a clear perception of the means whereby we might most effectually bring our moral power to bear against Slavery.

But the second year was marked by a clearer comprehension, and by decided success in breaking up the stupor that surrounded us. It was the year 1835;—remembered in our annals as the year of blind fury and outward attack; the year which showed those who had ever before declared that they were as much abolitionists as we, what manner of spirit they were of; making them feel that they were in sympathy with the oppressor, and enemies of the Slave.

The third year of our existence began to show that the hardness of heart of the community would, if it continued, endanger the social institutions which it weakened and corrupted by perverting them to the service of Slavery. “What are Church and State for,” men began this year to ask themselves, “if not to secure, among other blessings, FREEDOM, without which no others can exist? But, if their rafters are so weakened by this unsuspected decay, will they not fall under the hammer?” These questions were never followed out in Anti-Slavery Societies; for, to have discussed reform in Church and State, any farther than their corruptions prevent the abolition of Slavery, would have been to transcend the constitutional limitations of Anti-Slavery Societies.—But these questions

were none the less asked in the community, and the tyrants at heart, who were determined in their support of the system, and who had made Church and State the pillars of its denomination, caught here at a pretence by which they hoped to delay the national verdict, by making up a false issue. They cried out that Church and State were in danger from the attacks of abolitionists. Doubtless their words were in part true. Church and State *are* in danger; but not from the labours of the Anti-Slavery Societies. If Church and State are saved from destruction in the coming contest between liberty and Slavery, it will be owing to the efforts of those who are striving to remove them from their present dangerous position, where the hosts of liberty must needs charge over them.

The most observant and educated of the pro-Slavery party,—their clergy,—were the first to perceive, that a church at variance with the principles it professes cannot stand; and the exertions which, as ministers of Christ, they should have given to purify the church from Slavery, were expended in diverting the public mind from the examination of its rottenness, and directing public censure against the advocates of the cause. When made aware that the church obstinately sustained Slavery, they should have declared her no church of Christ. But, in so doing, they would have acknowledged the guilty silence of their own past lives; and this they had not the hearts to do, for their hearts were not repentant. They strove, instead, to extinguish the spirit of freedom.

By the fourth year, 1837, this course of so influential a body of men as the ministry, partially produced its intended effect in the Anti-Slavery ranks. Spiritual wickedness in high places triumphed over the integrity and resolution of some who had undertaken the task of freeing the American Slave. They had not anticipated the source from which the most formidable opposition was to come, and they shrank from the contest. The peltings of a mob they could bear. *Such* opposition does but strengthen the merely human powers of endurance. But the *spiritual* mob—the scourgings in the *synagogues*—the being delivered up of men to their *councils*,—this, being unexpected, was too hard to be borne. Their worldly reputation they had seemed more willing to lose; but they clung to their Christian character, though its preservation depended on the good word of those whose approbation they ought to have felt as a reproach; who had put darkness for light, and Slavery for freedom. The church, pro-Slavery as it had shown itself, was, in fact, *their world*; and they yielded up the interests of the Slave to its demands. But, the reproach they avoided on one side, they incurred on the other; and to excuse themselves for finally taking their stand by the side of the pro-Slavery friends, whose influence they had so long resisted, they became the accusers, before the world, of the faithful band they forsook, renounced its fellowship, and formed hostile societies for its destruction.

During the fifth and sixth years of our associated existence, 1838 and 1839, this retrograde movement of a small portion of the Abolitionists throughout the land went on, till its completion, by a general rupture, in 1840. Every step of retreat, of course, augmented the numbers of the retreating party, by bringing them back to their former connexions; and when they shall have reached the spot from which they started, they will, of course, have the whole pro-Slavery world with them.

In our own Society, this backward movement of a part, so painful in its progress and so paralyzing in its effects, was about three years in coming to the crisis of separation; and the manner in which that separation was effected was detailed by us immediately after it took place, in April last,

and to it we refer our absent and distant members, for whose information it was prepared.

A dissolution of all the original Anti-Slavery Societies seems to have been contemplated by those who had fallen away from the original point of union ; but our own was the only Society to which the proposition was actually introduced. The men who urged up our recreant members to this attempt to destroy the Society of which they had found it impracticable to make a tool, were unable to furnish them with reasons for its introduction ; for none, in fact, existed. Reasons that seemed all-sufficient in the hostile new organization, could not, for very shame, be presented in an assembly where they would be self-confuted. It will be recollected, by those who were present at our April quarterly meeting, how earnestly and how vainly the movers of a dissolution were urged to say why such a proposition should be brought forward. They answered nothing. Had they answered truly, they would have said, "Our pastors will take no less." It will be recollected what numbers refused to vote on that question, not allowing it to be one which it is competent to any majority to decide ; since, as long as two members remain planted on the constitution, they will still constitute the Society, and all protestations of others to the contrary, must be as ineffectual as the wind, or as the declaration of the mob to the same effect in 1835. This attempt of professed friends of the cause to deliver it bound hand and foot into the hands of its enemies, while it is the most painful, is, in another light, the most instructive and the most consoling of our experiences ; for we learn from it the utter powerlessness of the most subtle and pernicious influences, with the most unscrupulous use of evil means, to divide or scatter the hearts that the love of freedom unites ; and our confidence in our principles is increased by this new manifestation of their power. The few members who were actively engaged in endeavours to destroy the Society, declared that they were neutral between "old and new organization." But the following communication exhibits the turpitude of one of them :—

M. V. BALL TO ELIZABETH PEASE.

" BOSTON, May 6th, 1840.

" You will perceive, dear Sister, by the foregoing *Address*, that the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society has been DISSOLVED, and another formed in its place. Our no-government friends, being resolved to carry their *peculiar* views along with them IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAR, became so annoying in their movements, that it was found impracticable to continue united with them ; and the consequence has been, in our Female Society, *dissolution*—and I fear it will be in many others. The *no-government* friends consider *human government* as the great Juggernaut to be overthrown, ere ought else can be accomplished ; consequently they must have their notions advanced as *part* and *parcel* of their abolition.

" A very large majority of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society thought *not so*, and therefore did not dare take the responsibility of thus pulling away the barriers to vice and immorality. With this I send you the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, containing the minutes of the *last meeting* of the Society, and another, noticing the formation of the *Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society*. We find it very important to keep our Societies clear and distinct, lest they become perverted from their original objects.

" It is matter of the deepest regret to our most *efficient, laborious* friends,

such as Lewis and John Tappan, Scott, Green, Goodell, Birney, Whittier, Stanton, Phelps, Colver, Galusha, Gerrit Smith, and others, that our no-government friends have taken the fearful responsibility of causing division in our ranks; but we hope it may be over-ruled for good, knowing that it must have been permitted for some wise end."

On the reception of this, Miss Pease transmitted a copy of it to America, with the following comments:—

"**MY DEAR FRIEND**,—I forward the enclosed letter from M. V. Ball, in the hope that thou wilt be kind enough to explain upon what grounds our non-resistant friends deem it their duty so far to enforce their doctrines as to make them part and parcel of their abolition. It appears to me that no man or set of men have the right of exercising such an authority over the consciences of others; and that if the case really be as M. V. Ball states, a dissolution of the Society was inevitable—inasmuch as the assent of every member became equally requisite to the principle of non-resistance, as to that of immediate emancipation; and hence it must follow, that all who now adhere to the old Society are united in principle on both these questions—a fact which I certainly was not aware of. I am anxious to ascertain the precise nature and grounds of the unhappy divisions which have arisen amongst American Abolitionists, and to give to each their due. Any explanation, therefore, which thou canst afford will be very acceptable.

"Most sincerely wishing success to the efforts of every friend of human freedom, I remain,

"Very truly thine,

"ELIZABETH PEASE.

"In the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* of Dec. 12th, 1839, I see the non-resistants are charged with 'resisting the progress of Anti-Slavery opinion with all their might.'

In refutation of these charges against the Boston Female Society, now for the first time brought to its view in a tangible shape,—for the first time made in its presence, over the signature or by the lips of any individual,—which the individual who brings them *never dared to make* in our presence as a Society, so glaringly false are they;—in refutation of these charges, we have only to refer that individual to what took place on the presentation to the Society, for its sanction, of a document written by herself. It contained a censure of Lovejoy's self-defence. This censure, on motion of one of our few non-resistant members, was stricken out, on the ground that, though pledged by our affiliation and co-operation with other Anti-Slavery Societies never to sanction self-defence in the Slaves, no such understanding exists with regard to the self-defence of any others. We are an Anti-Slavery Society—not a non-resistance Society. In conformity with this view, the Society refuse to adopt the censure of Lovejoy; and in conformity with this view, the non-resistant members opposed the introduction of non-resistance resolutions, when they were recommended in private by the Grimkés.

On the petty but necessary conflict with falsehood and hostility, of which this is a specimen, there is no need that we should dwell. It will be found at length in the *Liberator, Extra*, published by the Society.

By conduct like this, which circumstances from time to time bring to light, "new organization" illustrates its nature. Its object is to separate

itself from those whose faithfulness has made them odious to a pro-Slavery community, without incurring the disgrace that cleaves to the turn-coat.

Having, by means of firmness, patience, and confidence in its principles, been freed from this elog of "new-organization," our Society was in a position to afford effectual aid to the friends of the cause throughout the country, who were struggling with the same untoward spirit. Wherever this spirit sought entrance, it assumed the name and shape most likely to facilitate its claim to confidence. In one place, it was anti-non-resistance—in another, anti-woman's rights—in another, anti-Garrison. In one place it made a pretence of regard for the Church, and in another, of an independent abolition party in politics.* Not finding the pretence of religious intolerance, with which it had commenced its operations, attractive to the Abolitionists, or on the whole successful in a community of which religious toleration is the law, it took the mask of political intolerance. To buttress its failing credit, it revived the political faith of a departed age—the dogma of "divine right." Government being ordained of God, it was every man's duty to vote at the polls,—both parties being corrupted by Slavery, it was every man's duty to aid in organizing a *third*,—and every man's duty to vote for the candidate of its nomination. James G. Birney was particularly active in the enforcement of these new ideas. He was the nominee of the third political party; and though, like Cæsar on the Lupercal, he at first refused the questionable honour of a nomination as the abolition candidate for the Presidency, by conventions from which the Abolitionists mostly absented themselves to mark their disapproval of the measure, yet it was perceptible, that in refusing the crown, he "was very loth to lay his fingers off it." He accepted the second proffer, the party was organized, and from that moment the increase of numbers to it, as a visible instrumentality, became, of course, its paramount object.

Its numbers were not increased by those of the faithful brothers in the cause, who had been made aware by his underhand course, of his loss of integrity of character. Not the non-voters alone shunned it. Those who had been shocked by his duplicity as a member of the Executive Committee of their National Association, exhibited to the Massachusetts quarterly meeting of 1839, and who had seen, on other occasions, the fatal facility with which he yielded to the uses of pro-Slavery bigotry, held themselves aloof. Filled with grief and shame, as they were, at the descent manifestly contemplated in the character of the cause, by this change in some of its prominent advocates, from piety to partizanship, still farther pain and confusion were heaped upon them.—Even while they mourned Mr Birney's first dereliction, they were surprised by the greatness of the succeeding ones, and the ease with which they seemed to be effected; verifying the ancient adage, "*facilis decesus Averni.*" He yielded up old and faithful friends, apparently, without hesitation, and followed up the deed by showing himself ready to destroy the American Anti-Slavery Society—that instrumentality which had been reared by so many years of toil and sacrifice on the part of the Abolitionists, and which had been, till held back by his own influence, with that of the majority of his fellow-servants of its Committee, a powerful means of influencing the hearts of the people. If viewed in one light, it seems like fatuity, in the projectors of a third political party, to have named as can-

* See Letter of Elizur Wright, jun., to Mr Stanton, on the occasion of the special meeting of the American Society in Ohio, urging the formation of a third party as the only measure that could save "new organization."

dicate for the suffrages of Abolitionists, a man who had failed to secure their confidence as one of the official servants of their society. He had shown them the meaning of the Scripture, "By the works of the *law*, shall no flesh living be justified;" for he had freed his own Slaves, and received his patrimonial inheritance also in Slaves, that he might liberate them, and yet could trample on the very principle by which only can Slavery be extinguished—the principle of toleration and united exertion. It may be safely assumed, for it has been a thousand times demonstrated, that he can do little for civil or domestic freedom, who does not respect the right of opinion. Mr Birney had been honest to his bondmen, but he was untrue to freedom at large, and to his fellow-labourers for the termination of bondage. But, then, in the other view of the case, this very untruth would free the party of a load of odium, and secure more of the indifferent, floating voters, than it would lose of the abolition voters. Suicidal policy of political parties!—by which a moral enterprise never can succeed.

Meanwhile, Mr Birney, with the Committee at New-York, were expending the property of the Society in labours to change, or, failing in this, to destroy it; and after using the *Emancipator*, its official organ, for this purpose, to the latest possible moment, they transferred it to a hostile Society. In this emergency, the indignant grief of the Abolitionists, in behalf of their enslaved clients, impelled them in throngs to the Annual Meeting in May last, for the purpose of superseding the Committee of that period by a more faithful one, and rescuing the Anti-Slavery movement from ruin, by opening a way for it through the obstacles with which these timid and treacherous guides had choked up the path. The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, deeply impressed with the importance of the moment, expressed its distrust of the New-York Committee—its unwavering confidence in the Association at large—and appointed ten Delegates to the rescue at the Annual Meeting. The danger of the crisis was happily averted. On finding that they should not be able to mould the American Anti-Slavery Society as they had themselves been moulded, the Committee separated from it in disgust, and turned their forces against it, under the name of the "American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society." They commenced their hostilities by an address to the Abolitionists of the world; which tissue of false statements met with an instant denial and disproof; but which 'Mr Birney still further lowered his character by displaying before the London Convention.

Without funds, without official means of communication with the friends scattered throughout the country, hemmed round by enemies,—and those worst of enemies, false and pretended friends,—the free spirit shone gloriously out, and proved itself equal to the emergency. The old headquarters of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which the faithless Committee had stripped bare and deserted, previous to the Annual Meeting, were re-occupied. The loss occasioned by the dishonest transfer of the *Emancipator* was more than made good by the issue of a most able and free-spirited paper—THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. Towards the support of these operations we were grateful for the privilege of contributing in our small measure. At short notice, and in addition to the obligations we had assumed to the *Liberator*, and to the expenses incurred in prolonging our existence as a Society, for the Slave's sake, we raised five hundred dollars, to sustain the National Society in affiliation with the State Society.

"Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" is our exclamation, as we witness the harmonious action of the

several departments of the cause, since the new organization spirit has taken flight.

And now, let us turn our eyes from the painful past to the hopeful future. Or, if we dwell upon the past, let it not be with too deep and indignant a sorrow over the falsehood that has deceived, and the treachery that has betrayed the principles of freedom, to whose maintenance in our day and generation we have bound ourselves. Let our remembrances be to us, not idle and random recollections, but profitable experiences, by whose light we may illuminate the future, but which shall not be a spell, hindering our progress by binding us to the past.

What jurists and statesmen learn by thought and study and investigation, (if their passions permit them to learn it at all,) the providence of God has revealed to us ; that effectual revolutions in the policy and conduct of nations, such as we contemplate in our own, are only to be effected by a previous moral revolution in individual hearts. Selfishness is to be overcome, courage and devotedness to be implanted ; and, in fine, a work, analogous to that of conversion, is to be effected in each hostile soul of a world lying in wickedness, before it will consent to let the Slave go free. We see the futility—the impossibility—the paradox of the attempt to *force* men to be free, or just, or merciful. Elections may, by political manœuvres and compromises, be secured ; majorities in legislative assemblies may be obtained ; the cause of freedom may be considered triumphant in the elevation of a nominal Abolitionist to the Presidency ; and still the real work remain for future generations to accomplish. Let these considerations make us distrustful of every measure tending to lower the Anti-Slavery enterprize from a holy warfare into a struggle for place and power. Let the example of our fathers,—those fathers who proclaimed the inalienable rights of men, and yet left Slavery as a heritage to their children,—warn us never to admit the smallest compromise,—never to be deceived into accepting any thing for our cause as matter of favour, or as binding us to relinquish a hair's breadth of our claim to the unreserved and earnest efforts of every professing friend of freedom, to obtain for the Slave immediate and unconditional Emancipation.

The Anti-Slavery Societies have not yet done their work. When, in the heat of political excitement, amid which the *favourers* of the cause will a few years hence be engaged ; when, in the conflict of a northern and southern party, yet to spring out of this question, *compensation*—*partial Emancipation*—*intermediate arrangements*—*delay*—become the rallying words of the opposition ; then let the Slave rejoice, if the Anti-Slavery Societies exist, to urge up to the mark a partially regenerated people, who, though the *favourers* of the cause, will not deserve to be called its friends ; for they will need constant and persevering entreaty, rebuke and warning, to prevent their making shipwreck of the enterprize. Not by numbers, but by laborious and energetic fidelity, will the work be wrought out. “Not by might, nor by power, but by *MY SPIRIT*, saith the Lord of hosts !”

Let us prepare ourselves, beloved friends, to maintain our lofty and influential position to the last. Great is the influence granted to those who will use it for the good of mankind, nor seek *themselves*, or their own small interests, in any thing they do. Utter abnegation of self,—this is the armour in which we may pass unheeding through the shafts of malignant misrepresentation and opposition and treachery ; and still, at every emergency, may we be enabled by it to present ourselves as the devoted, marking, by our unheralded advance, the path the hosts behind us are to follow.

We shall lose our *influence*, we are told, by the decisive and rapid movements that repel the false-hearted and leave the fearful and the lukewarm in the rear. Influence! is that uninfluencing weapon worthy the name, that rests in the scabbard in fear of its brightness! To respect every one's freedom of choice we are bound. If others are hesitating and dilatory, we have only to suffer it to be so. But, well is it for the cause, that *we* should press rapidly onward, breaking down the obstacles to their wavering advance.

But, we should not be too prodigal of efforts, it is said; we must play the good housewife by our means. Our experience bids reject the counsel, as inapplicable to the conduct of a moral enterprize. The manna of to-day will be corrupt or dry to-morrow. It is our privilege, and should be our joy, to pour out all our means to meet the present emergency.

“ If, in our daily course, our mind
Be set to *hallow* all we find,
New treasures still, of countless price,
God will provide for sacrifice.”

Do not lose sight of the world by the severe pureness of your principles, say they who would make selfishness the basis of reform; as if the world could choose how far it might remain behind its advanced-guard! At whatever distance in our rear, its advance must needs be proportionate to our own. The way to Emancipation is open before us, if we have the strength to walk and to run in it as in the way of God's commandment. The world, it is true, is never with us—it is following at a distance, as we vanquish the phantoms it apprehends. But we are not alone. The Father of all spirits is with us! the God of all patience and consolation is with us! the God of freedom and love is with us! the omnipotent God of righteousness and truth is with us!

In following him, all opposing influences melt away as we approach. Like the visionary hedge of thorns of Arabian story, they are found incapable of annoyance, opposed to the invincible faith which strengthens us to press through them. Like those of old, told of in prophecy, we are in the midst of the fire, and are not burned. That we are few, and feeble, except in our faith, is no fault of ours, nor will it be a detriment to the cause we hold so dear. This is the divine philosophy, that “the weak things of the earth shall confound the mighty,” and the things which are not even accounted as existing “ shall put to shame the things that are.”

How many a time have nations been saved by their women, when every other hope seemed extinct; and so may it be with America, if we will have it so. There is moral power enough in presence here to-day, affirmatively to settle the question we have raised. This is a sinful nation, that has deeply offended; yet that law is an unvarying one of God's providence, by which he will save each of its populous cities, “for ten's sake;” and who's here so cold of soul that would not be enrolled with joy in so noble a registry!

As the counsellors of our parents and the helpers of our husbands, a mighty work is to be done, and in general Society an influence for freedom and humanity will ever radiate from the lover of freedom. But we have duties of our own to fulfil towards our country and race; and it is as the exemplars of our sons and daughters that our weightiest work is to be done. *They* must see our direct, unshrinking, and unwavering personal labours in the way of righteousness; and they must not learn from us that there is any *second* way, however indolence, or frivolity, or fear of

blame, offer their temptations. Our efforts must be strenuous and open for the promulgation of the principles of freedom, on which rest the welfare of our country and our posterity. We are working for all coming time, and the thought cheers and strengthens us for continually renewed labours. We have had progenitors who have laboured for us, and we must repay the debt to those who shall come after us. One generation of them left its father-land for religious freedom; another gave up the summer of its years for civil liberty; and grateful though we are to have been born of that noble strain, our heaviest labour should not be to build our fathers' sepulchres. It is for us to finish the work they left undone, so that our children shall rise up and call us blessed. It lies mainly with us to determine whether our children, or at farthest our children's children, shall dwell in the land we leave them in freedom and in peace, surrounded by happy and joyous influences; or whether their lives shall pass in convulsive struggles with an injured race, awakened to a sense of wrong and thirst of vengeance, by a comparison of republican theory with republican practice. Fearlessly and earnestly we say to such as forbid us to cast our whole souls, with all their energies, into this cause, and by whose unworthy opposition we might have been sore let and hindered, had our love for it been less,—gently and firmly we tell them, that their opposition comes too late. It is necessary for the success of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, that the hands should be *free* that urge it onward; and the hands from which the fetters have fallen, in the intensity of their exertions for the freedom of others, can never again be bound. Threatenings and entreaties and abuse must be alike in vain, before a conscientious conviction of duty. The appeals of some *professed* Abolitionists, to the *magnanimity* of women, are the most insulting to human nature of all. We do really think that we can aid it more than such; and therefore, if they or ourselves are to "weep in secret places," we do really think that the cause will lose least by *their* retreat. Had it been personal rights or wrongs that impelled us—had it been any thing but love of the cause of human rights, we might have withdrawn from the Association where we have so long acceptably laboured, on the first intimation that our absence as co-labourers was desirable. Were it our own will we sought,

"We would not die in that man's company
Who fears his fellowship to die with us."

But we dare not, even were the transfer possible, to leave our responsibilities to the cause in despotic and intolerant hands. If we love the cause, we are bound to labour for it according to our own best judgment. The very pro-Slavery community perceives the fact, and laughs at the men whom it has deluded into rejecting the help of any human being, and suspects the sincerity of their pretended love of freedom. Of all the means of abolishing Slavery, perhaps the most effectual is the irrepressible sympathy for the wronged and suffering, that swells high above the usages that would dam up its current; that signs Anti-Slavery petitions to the legislature against old usages; that dwells in conversation upon the hitherto interdicted subject against old usages; that prays and labours for its extinction against old usages; that rejoices to present it for consideration to assembled multitudes against old usages!

No means have ever been employed in the cause, which have not been forbidden by some defender of antiquated custom; not an advocate for the Slave but has been in turn proscribed by the defenders of despotism. The

foreigner must not intermeddle ; the northerner must not interfere ; the young are too rash, and the old too imbecile ; to the minister, the subject is interdicted as profane and secular ; to the church member, as introducing strife and division ; to the citizen, as seditious ; to man, because it is too delicate ; and to woman, because it is too indelicate. But none of these things should move the advocate for emancipation. None of them have moved us, since we overcame the reluctant pain of accosting the hostile circles in our neighbours' drawing-rooms with the Anti-Slavery petitions. Here was the spot where, so many years since, we met and detected the unsubstantial nature of the phantom arguments conjured up by the opposers of woman's action in the Anti-Slavery cause. Without going into the general question, which a consideration of constitutional limitations has always forbidden, the same answer suffices for all objections :—“ We *think* our course a right one—we *know* that it has subserved the cause.”

Let us, then, having “gifts differing,” and opportunities and means differing, each continue the vigorous exercise of such as fall to our lot. Some have worldly appliances and means—some mechanical skill, and a perception of the beautiful—some the command of their time—some health and strength of body—some power and vigour of mind—some the “fiery gift of tongues”—all the might of supplication ; and grief and sharpe will it be to us and to our children, if we do not yield them all to the service of freedom and humanity. From the moment that the Abolitionist proscribes his neighbour for the exercise of her gifts, according to her own conscience, in the Anti-Slavery cause, he proves conclusively that his heart has ceased to glow with the devotedness to its interests which inspired his early and tolerating efforts in its behalf. We do not blame him that his judgment differs from ours on questions of propriety. He has a right to his opinion ; but he has no right to be intolerant towards us personally on account of ours.

Since so much has been said about loading the Anti-Slavery enterprise with “foreign topics,” we, too, may be permitted to remind those who make the outcry, of the legitimate object of our Anti-Slavery Societies, implied in their very name. They did not band themselves together for or against anarchy or gynarchy, monarchy or hierarchy, or any form of civil or religious government, but simply against Slavery. It is well for us all to keep in mind, that the best test of our love for the cause is, that it is strong enough to overcome all reluctance to work with those who differ on other points from ourselves. We can work for the Slave with any man, who does not reject our help and hinder our efforts.

But, this short-lived opposition to the free labours of women will not long exist. It was not an honest one, but had its origin in the pretences of detected unfaithfulness. Men so suddenly and so preposterously deferential to usages will soon be silent on this head. They have submitted in silence to see “ women on committees” in other enterprises, and silently they are witnessing the general progress of the age. They feel no call to proscribe the “mixed commissions” that have erected the Bunker-hill monument ! No burst of indignation against “woman usurping authority,” follows the address of a gentleman to the presiding officer of a monument meeting at Worcester—“ *Madam President !* ” No denunciations follow the appointment of ten men and ten women as the Committee of a public meeting in Newburyport. Classical and revered Cambridge nominates a *whole Committee* of women on a similar occasion, and pledges its manhood to execute their mandates, declaring its “reliance on their strong arm for success,” unridiculed and unrebuted.—Since men have proclaimed

with pride how scarfs and handkerchiefs wave applause at whig and democratic gatherings, we feel no call to defend our interest in the Anti-Slavery cause from the charge of "singular and unwomanly partieipation in things out of our sphere." Since a Bancroft, years ago, proclaimed, what the democracy of the State sanctioned, that the principles of that party were applicable to women; since Webster has instructed the ladies of Virginia, that it is their duty to rectify the principles and keep alive the truth and honesty of the community, we "experience no inclination" to contract our sphere of usefulness, on the ground that its present enlargement will shock the prejudices of the world.

The "woman's rights question" has been raised by our opponents—not ourselves. Vast and important as it is, there is not legitimate scope for it in Societies whose point of union is the rights of the southern Slave. But, for the Slave's sake, we are bound to urge on all his advocates, the use of all their powers according to their own consciences; to proclaim, "*La carriere ouverte aux talens*,"—the tools to whosoever can use them.

An expression of thanks may be permitted us here—the thanks due to every human being who strengthens our faith by heroic endurance, who stimulates us to diligence, or shames our negligence by unremitting exertion; and whose example of calm, invincible patience, and generous hopefulness, are to us as a personal benefit. For such obligations we may pause a moment to express our gratitude to Abby Kelley, the devoted labourer for the cause in Massachusetts and Connecticut. While we have been sitting undisturbed by our firesides, or discharging the lighter obligations for the cause which use has made easy and agreeable, she has laboured through obloquy and persecution, in those almost impracticable regions which few Agents have yet ventured to visit, at inclement seasons and amid bodily fatigue, unsustained by the funds or sympathy of any Anti-Slavery Society, (except the testimony of the women of Lynn—her residence of many years—to the high-toned purity and devotedness of her nature; and the confidence implied by the American Anti-Slavery Society at the last Annual Meeting.) Calling no man master, she has been by that freedom qualified for the performance of those effectual services to the cause of the Slave, which the fettered hand and the shackled foot can never render. She is sure of her reward—the gratitude of the few—the malignant scorn of the many—the blessings of coming generations.

We make this public acknowledgment of our own obligations to her, not for *her* sake. Such an expression would be omitted by us, were it our object to give pleasure to her personally. But we esteem it a duty and a privilege to identify ourselves with all who are persecuted for righteousness' sake. If the noble firmness with which she has executed her arduous mission is beyond our own ability to exercise, or our grace to imitate, we will not, in the spirit of new organization, contemn the excellence we cannot attain. We will rather say, in the words of another true-hearted and eloquent woman in our cause,—"If we are not bold enough in the Slave's cause ourselves, *we honour those most who are so.*"

The mention of new organization brings us to the consideration of the manner in which this foe should be met. It is a pro-Slavery influence, and as such should be combated; "an evil soul producing holy witness," and its disguises should be stripped off; hypocritical in its pretences, and as such should be denounced; unscrupulous in its violations of truth in principles and veracity in facts, and as such should be exposed. It is, as the Colonization Society *was*, composed of two classes of persons—the deceivers and the deceived. We must forgive the trespasses of the former

against us, and strive with unwearied effort to open the eyes of the latter. We can descend to no petty scramble with it for funds and auxiliaries ; for of the enemies of the cause we only want repentance ; and no true friend will long remain unsuspicuous of its design—the destruction of the existing Anti-Slavery Societies and influences, and the substitution in their stead of the *unoffending* Anti-Slavery which swayed New-England from the pulpit ten years since, of which it labours to preserve the supremacy.

Meanwhile, to the repentant and the undeceived, the old platform stands where it did. None can be driven from it who love the cause. Men slide away from it through indifference, or are self-excluded through treachery and intolerance. But faithful hearts are there still—instant in labour, in warning, in entreaty and rebuke ; presenting neither place to ambition, nor profit to selfishness ; and may God strengthen them to endure to the end.

Our cause presents two considerations to the mind ; the freedom of the Slave, and the elevation of the free people of colour. The first is the fundamental one, for while Slavery exists, the people of colour must suffer from the labours of the oppressing caste to keep them degraded. But, much may be done for the nominally free, as we go on. If we have, from our more fortunate position, any advantages of mental acquirement, or cultivation and refinement of manners, let us share them with those who have been deprived of our opportunities, in the only way in which such a proffer would not be an insult—*i. e.* by a hearty acknowledgment of social equality. We heartily approve and co-operate with every effort for the elevation of our injured fellow-beings, wherever it is made. We sympathize with the self-denying labours of a Wilson and an Ingraham. But we need not go to Canada or Jamaica for a field for benevolent effort among the free coloured people. They are among ourselves—a suffering remnant, in the grasp of a despotic people, whose hearts are hardened towards them. Let us stand between them and injury, whenever we see its ruthless hand up-raised. Let us better know our vocation as Abolitionists, than to consider our companions in the cause, in this city and elsewhere, as mere claimants of alms, as coveting our supercilious notice and acquaintance. It is not so. It is justice, and sympathy, and right appreciation, and deserved respect,—it is the *co-labourer's right hand* we owe them ; and they will have a right to despise us, if we confine our views for their elevation to feeding and clothing their hungry, or sustaining their charitable institutions. Our efforts should primarily be to raise the weight that crushes them. Are their schools the scenes of a gentle and efficient culture ? (*or rather, why are any schools barred against them ?*) Are the desirable lots in society theirs to bid off at will ? These are the questions we should ask ourselves ; and the negative answer, which the facts of the case give, should stimulate us, among other efforts, to circulate the petition for the abrogation of the present anti-christian and anti-republican marriage law, with renewed energy.

Let us go on as aforetime, shrinking from no sacrifices that freedom and humanity need. But why do we mention sacrifices ? Have we ever really made one ? Would not the true sacrifice have been to have renounced the life of an Abolitionist, and have wrought in the world's harness, for the earthly portion which satisfieth not ? In labouring for the freedom of others, have we not found an exceeding great and unlooked-for reward—the additional field of usefulness to our age, given by the freedom of soul we have gained ? We have, in our associated capacity, every encouragement to keep onward, with a single eye to the great national enterprise we

have commenced. We may go out of life before its accomplishment; but we shall have made its labours light for those who shall come after, as the labours of a preceding generation have made it discreditable for the Englishman of to-day to do otherwise than oppose West Indian Slavery.

But a still more arduous enterprise now claims the attention of England. A hundred and fifty millions of people in British India, the victims of civil and domestic Slavery, calling for redress at her hand, will show who in England are the living apostles, and who the mere hereditary Abolitionists. In this proposed work we cannot but take the deepest interest, though the field of labour is in another empire. "Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind!" Our sympathies have not been exhausted by exercise—they are but more universal and abundant in their flow.

To our dear and well-remembered friend, George Thompson, to whom we are so deeply indebted, we take this means of conveying our earnest sympathy in the enterprise of redeeming British India from oppression. No enterprise for freedom is foreign to us; and there is in Great Britain a high and pure-minded phalanx, to whom our sympathy will be none the less valuable because we are women, and who will not hypocritically solicit of women that aid, which, unless it were *slavishly* yielded, they would scornfully reject.

A new year of labour is opening before us. If we are not wanting to our cause, it will be a year of success. Freedom makes her friends clear and comprehensive in vision—resolute and ready in execution—self-denying and courageous in conduct—faithful and true to each other; and these are the elements of success—the assurance, that our prayers for the extinction of Slavery will be heard.

A P P E N D I X.

LETTERS.

Among the extracts from letters read at the Annual Meeting of the Boston Female Society, are the following, from Harriet Martineau and Anne Knight. The cheerfulness of the one, and the deep feeling of the other, express so well the Anti-Slavery mind, according as its mood is grave or gay, that the Society asked their publication:—

"TYNEMOUTH, Northumberland.

— "Living or dying, I shall be in spirit with you and your cause. If I can do anything, however little, for it, while I have life, it shall be done.

"Garrison was quite right, I think, to sit in the gallery at the Convention. I conclude you think so. It has done much, I am persuaded. You will live to see a great enlargement of our scope of usefulness, I trust; but what with the vices of some women and the fears of others, it will be hard work to assert our liberty. I will, however, till I die, and so will you; and so make it easier for some few to follow.

The information brought out at the Convention will do good, I have no doubt. But the knowledge we have obtained of the obvious deficiencies of the members, in the very principles they came to advocate, will surely do more.

"I send Two Pounds, which I have got by my needle, for your Society—being fond of fancy work, and fit for it in this my invalid state. I feel in my soul the honour of the appointment of delegate. You know that I could not have discharged its duties, even if the others had been admitted. But I beg to assure my constituents, that there is in me no lack of willingness to serve our cause in any capacity.

"Your faithful and affectionate

"H. MARTINEAU."

"8th Month 4, 1840.

Indeed, I am surprised at the readiness of the bigoted, to yield to the honest, unflinching assertions of truth ; it being, they allow, a question of *men's* rather than of *women's* rights—the placing at his side, in important scenes of life, his better and wiser half—the being whose clearer and diviner instincts would enlighten, ennable, and sanctify his counsels, and hasten, with the help of divine providence, the renovation of our world.

"At the Freemason's Tavern, the clamour against the question grew less and less, and the advocacy louder ; there were many, I believe, ashamed of the part they took. I believe they cannot deny the equality of talent as well as worth of their wives, sisters, and daughters. These ideas, discussed often among us, are helping the cause. We tell our opponents, in the beginning, that they must take off their grandmother's night caps, and throw them to the "things that love night;" they good naturedly comply, and entertain the subject with a smile. We tell them we are not the same beings as fifty years ago ; no longer "sit by the fire and spin," or distil rosemary and lavender for poor neighbours ; but appoint visiting Committees for them, and sit in Mission and Bible Societies reporting to the men ; sitting in their public meetings, and uniting with them in association Committees. Then comes the great and mortal conflict. The dreadful monster *Slavery* must be grappled with ; and who is sent out to do it ? Not man—not the stronger vessel—with his nervous and brawny arm, his stentorian voice, the fierceness of his black beard and mustachios, and his "eye like Mars, to threaten and command." What ! not the "sons of Thunder Boanergean"—not they ? Who, then ? Some fierce dagon more horrible still ? No ! guess again ! Cerberus ? No ! weak, tender, untrained for the work—modest woman ! And when she appeals to the men against such unheard of folly and atrocity to the weaker vessel, James Cropper has said, "It is no use talking, Anne ; the men are gone to sleep, and it is impossible to rouse them ; you must go forth." At another time and place, to the same appeal, THOMAS CLARKSON, our veteran hero, made the same reply. He did, indeed, my dear friends, and thus having been driven into the fore-front of the battle—having, in the labour of collecting and going from house to house for signatures to petitions, had to fight with beasts at Ephesus, who can any longer, in this blaze of our superior experience, dazzling the twilight ken of their sheltering care, dare to omit our names in the muster-roll for the council board ? We have a far superior claim to the men,—the claim of our ensanguined battle-field,—the claim of our trophies, our captives ; and can they much longer dare to hold up the puny cry of *custom* and dread of ridicule, in their confused jargon and strife of tongues—their darkening of counsel by words without knowledge—while the veterans sit without, in silent contempt of their

rhodomontade? Surely, the folly is hastening to an end; it cannot withstand the light of truth. Tacitus relates that the Germans always called the women to their war-counsels, because they had something divine in them; and do not your Indians have their conferences unitedly? The scientific Congresses of France are composed of men and women,—myself being a member, and having addressed them, *a Leige aux Blois*, on the subject of Slavery. Our own Society invites its men and women in mission and conference; and if we may handle the holy things, is it for our sect, to raise its voice opposing our secular and moral engagements? Forbid it, common sense, and thou, my dear friend, cease not to cry aloud and lift up thy voice like a trumpet; for surely, if Indian women, if German women, if the women of France may hold colloquy with men, the women of England, not less Christian, and not less qualified than they, must, ere long, 'what is dark illumine.' May the emphatic question be sent across the Atlantic by some strong pen to our exclusives in Broad Street—a most inappropriate name; it ought to be the street which is called *strait*. I wish it were practicable that, continuing the subject now begun, the cause of humanity might be extended, so that by the time of a *second* Convention, it would be more deserving the name of a *World's* Convention.

"Thy very sincere friend,

"ANNE KNIGHT."

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

TO

The Glasgow Emancipation Society,

From 1st August, 1839, to 7th August, 1840.

A

Rev. Wm. Auld, Tollcross, £0 10 0
 David Anderson, 1 1 0
 John Anderson, 0 10 6
 James Anderson, 1 1 0
 Alexander Anderson, 1 1 0
 William Auld, Sidney St., 0 5 0
 Robert Aitken, East Nile St. 0 5 0
 Rev. William Anderson, 0 10 6
 Allan & Ferguson, 0 10 6
 James Anderson, Jun., 0 10 6
 Joseph Afleck, 0 5 0

B

Walter Buchanan, 1839, 1 1 0
 Do. 1840, 1 1 0
 James Brown, Douglas, 0 5 0
 Do. 0 5 0

Hugh Brown, Jun. 1 1 0
 Archibald Brown, 0 10 6
 John Barr, 1 1 0
 Henry Bruce, 0 5 0
 Peter Bruce, 0 10 6
 Robert Bruce, 0 5 0
 William Brodie, 1 1 0
 J. & T. Brown, & Co. 0 10 6
 Robert Bland, 0 5 0
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 Baptist Church, Storie St., Pais. 3 0 0
 Henry Brock, 1 1 0
 William Brown, 0 5 0
 Robert Burns, 0 5 0
 James Beith, Candleriggs, 0 5 0

Moses Brown, 0 5 0
 Charles Bryson, 0 5 0
 Robert Barclay, Barrowfield, 0 10 6
 Dr. John Black, 0 5 0
 Thomas Binnie, 0 5 0
 Rev. William Brash, 0 5 0
 Thomas Brown, Writer, 0 5 0
 Walter Bremner, 0 5 0
 James Beith, 0 10 6

C

Robert Connell, 1839, £0 5 0
 Do. 1840, 0 5 0
 Hugh Craig, Kilmarnock, 1 0 0
 Archibald Cumine & Co., 0 10 6
 James Cocker, 0 10 6
 James Campbell, 1 0 0
 James Cairns, 0 5 0
 John Croom, 0 10 6
 Dr. Crawford, Bridgeton, 0 10 6
 Dr. Campbell, Kent Street, 0 5 0
 William Chisholm, Jun., 0 10 6
 A. Cross, (J. Ker's Brunswick
 Street,) 0 10 6
 James Clark, 0 5 0
 Allan Clark, 0 5 0

D

James Duncan, Mosesfield, 0 5 0
 John Douglas of Barloch, 1 1 0
 John Donald, 0 5 0
 Alexander Duncan, Jun., 0 5 0
 James Drummond, 0 7 6
 Do. 0 5 0
 George C. Dick, 0 10 6

E

Dr. Wm. Easton, 0 5 0
 Rev. Greville Ewing, 2 0 0
 Rev. John Edwards, 0 5 0
 Rev. John Eadie, 0 5 0

F

John Fleming, 1 1 0
 Friend, per J. Murray, 0 2 6
 William Ferguson, 0 10 6
 John Fyfe, 1 1 0
 James Fleming, 0 10 6
 Finlay & Neilson, 0 10 6
 Friend at New Lanark, per
 Robert Mason, 1 0 0
 Allan Fullarton, 0 10 6

| | | | |
|---|--------|---------------------------|--------|
| Friend, | £0 3 0 | Robert Kirkwood, | £0 5 0 |
| Do. . . . | 0 5 0 | William Kerr, | 0 10 6 |
| Do. . . . | 0 2 6 | John Kirkwood, | 0 5 0 |
| Do. . . . | 0 5 0 | Hugh Kennedy, | 0 5 0 |
| | | Alexander Kellar, | 0 5 0 |
| G | | Rev. Dr. Kidston, | 0 5 0 |
| Alexander Graham, | 1 1 0 | J. B. Kidston, | 0 5 0 |
| Alexander Galloway, | 0 5 0 | Rev. David King, | 0 10 6 |
| Robert Grahame, Weymouth, 10 | 0 0 0 | | |
| John B. Gray, | 1 1 0 | | |
| George Gallie, | 0 10 6 | | |
| Archibald Gardner, | 0 5 0 | | |
| William Gray, Jeweller, | 1 1 0 | | |
| William Gunn, Jun., | 0 10 6 | | |
| Archibald Greenshields, | 0 10 6 | | |
| John Galloway, | 0 5 0 | | |
| William Gilmour, Writer, | 0 5 0 | | |
| William Graham, | 0 5 0 | | |
| Rev. John Graham, | 0 5 0 | | |
| <i>George Street Chapel Association for Religious Purposes, (Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's.)</i> | | | |
| Arch. Ferguson, 1839, 0 | 5 0 | | |
| Miss Fullarton, | 0 5 0 | | |
| John A. Fullarton, | 0 10 6 | | |
| Anthony McKeand, 1 | 1 0 | | |
| John S. Blyth, | 2 2 0 | | |
| Donald Macintyre, 1 | 1 0 | | |
| Jas. Millikin, 1839, 0 | 5 0 | | |
| Do. 1840, 0 | 5 0 | | |
| D. Stewart, 1839, 1 | 0 0 | | |
| Do. 1840; 0 | 7 6 | 7 2 0 | |
| | | | |
| H | | | |
| John Hardie, | 0 5 0 | | |
| Andrew Harvie, | 0 10 6 | | |
| William B. Hodge, | 0 10 6 | | |
| James Hutcheson, | 1 1 0 | | |
| Robert Hntcheson, | 1 1 0 | | |
| David Hope, | 0 10 6 | | |
| Richard Hall, | 0 5 0 | | |
| Alexander Hastie, | 1 1 0 | | |
| William Harvey, | 0 5 0 | | |
| John Hamilton, Turner, | 0 5 0 | | |
| Rev. Alexander Harvey, 1839, 0 | 7 6 | | |
| Do. 1840, 0 | 5 0 | | |
| David A. Hardie, | 0 5 0 | | |
| Rev. Dr. Heugh, | 0 10 6 | | |
| | | | |
| I | | | |
| Charles Inglis, | 0 10 6 | | |
| | | | |
| J | | | |
| Robert Jameson, | 1 1 0 | | |
| Johnston, Galbraith & Co. | 2 2 0 | | |
| Rev. John Johnstone, | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | | |
| K | | | |
| Robert Kettle, | 1 0 0 | | |
| Alexander M'K. Kirkland, | 0 10 6 | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| N | | | |
| William Nairn, | 0 5 0 | | |

P

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|----|---|
| John Poynter, . . . | £0 | 10 | 6 |
| William P. Paton, . . . | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| James Parker, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Proudfoot, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Pollock, Buchanan St., . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Andrew Paton, . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Richmond Picken, 1839, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Do. 1840, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Proudfoot, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. James Paterson, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. Thomas Pullar, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |

R

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---|----|---|
| David Russell, . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| George Robson, . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| John & Charles Risk, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Archibald Rigg, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Reid, . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |

S

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|----|---|
| James Stewart, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Sanderson, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David Smith, Trongate, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Semple & Co., . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Smith, Polmadie, . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| William Stewart, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Service, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alex. Stevenson, Bannockburn, 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| William Strang, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. Dr Stark, Dennyloanhead, 0 | 10 | 6 | |
| William Smeal, . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |

T

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|
| George Thorburn, 1839, . . . | 2 | 2 | 0 |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|

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|----------------------------------|----|---|---|
| George Thorburn, 1840, . . . | £1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Turner, Thrushgrove, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Thomson, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. Prof. Thomson, Paisley, 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |

U

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---|----|---|
| John Ure, of Croy, . . . | 0 | 10 | 0 |
|--------------------------|---|----|---|

W

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|----|---|
| Charles Whish, 1839, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Do. 1840, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Anthony Wigham, Aberdeen, 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Archibald Watson, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Samuel Wilson, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Watson, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Watson, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Wylie, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Oliver Wingate, . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| William White, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Whitehead, . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Wilson, . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| John Wright, Miller St., . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Wallace, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Wotherspoon, High St., 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles West, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Williamson, . . . | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Walter Wilson, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. Wylie, . . . | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Waddell, . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Watson, Lanark, 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Peter White, Old Kilpatrick, 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 |

Y

| | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|
| Andrew Young, . . . | 1 | 0 | 0 |
|---------------------|---|---|---|

 Every person subscribing 5s. per annum, is a Member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and is entitled to receive a copy of all its publications.—Subscriptions will be thankfully received by MR WILLIAM SMEAL, one of the Secretaries, 161, Gallowgate; or by any of the Members of Committee.

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Dr.

Cr.

AUGUST 6th, 1840.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| To Collection at last Annual Meeting, | £8 3 6½ |
| Collection at Public Meeting to hear Sir Culling E. Smith, on the Aborigines' Society, | 4 4 4 |
| Collection at Meeting to receive John Scoble, Esq., Agent of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, | 3 12 7½ |
| Collection at Meeting to appoint Delegates to the London Anti- Slavery Convention, | 1 12 3 |
| Collection at Meeting to receive William Lloyd Garrison and Com- panions | 10 5 1 |
| Sales of Publications, | 7 11 2½ |
| Donation from Baptist Church, Storie Street, Paisley, | 3 0 0 |
| Donation from Society for Religious Purposes in George Street Chapel, (Dr. Wardlaw's), | 7 2 0 |
| Discount on Accounts due at last Annual Meeting, | 4 7 7 |
| Annual Subscriptions, per William Smell's Book, | 120 9 0 |
| Balance, due by the Society, | 34 1 9½ |
| | <hr/> |
| | £213 9 11 |

AUGUST 6th, 1840.

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|--|-----------|
| By Balance due at last Anniversary, | £66 5 8 |
| Donation to Aborigines' Protection Society, per George Thompson, | 10 0 0 |
| Expenses of Committee Meetings, | 1 1 0 |
| Expenses of Newspapers, and Printing and Advertising, | 81 2 8 |
| British India Society for Publications, per George Thompson | 9 7 6 |
| Five Hundred "English in India"—reprinted from Howitt's Colonization and Christianity, | £12 10 0 |
| Five Hundred Proceedings at a British India Meet- ing at Darlington, | 3 15 0 |
| | <hr/> |
| Expenses of Public Meetings, | 16 5 0 |
| Postages, Carriage, Porterage, Booking of Parcels, and sundry small incidental charges, | 11 2 1 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 12 6 0 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £213 9 11 |

GLASGOW, 7th August, 1840.—We have examined the above Account, and the vouchers relating thereto, and found the same to be correct.—The Balance due
by the Society at this date, is Thirty-four Pounds One Shilling and Ninepence Halfpenny.

(Signed,)
 DONALD MACINTYRE.
 ROBERT KETTLE.





